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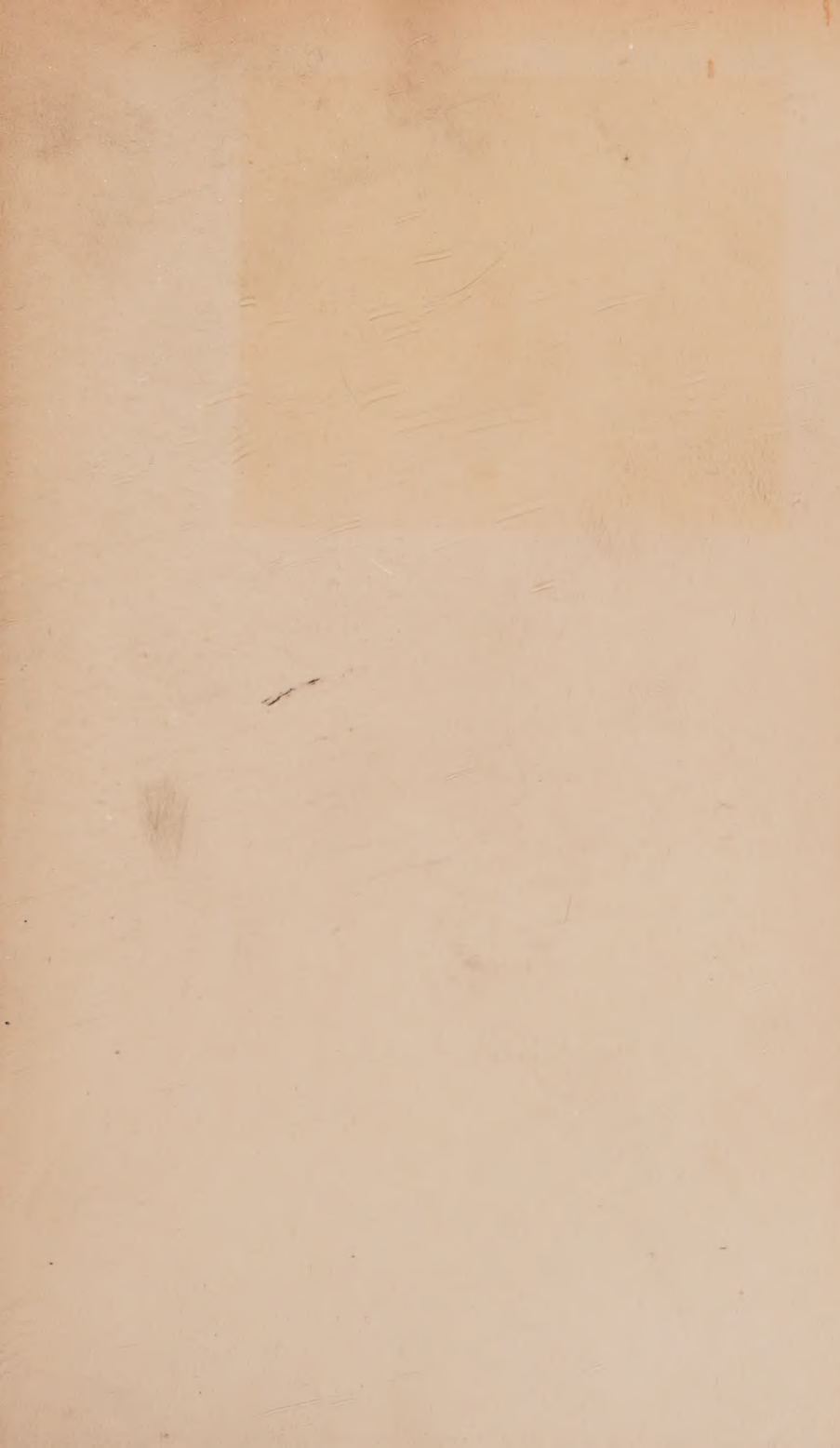
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THE RED MAN
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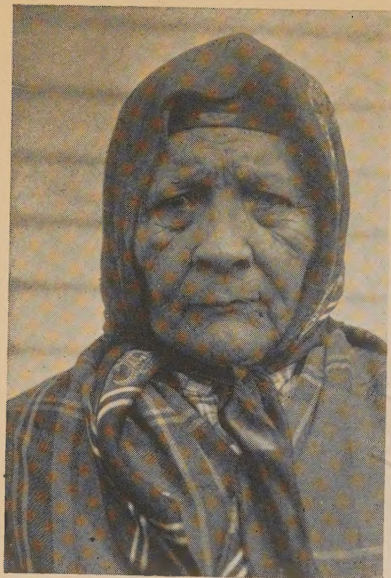
G. E. E. LINDQUIST

The Institute of Social and Religious Research, which is responsible for this publication, was organized in January, 1921, as the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. It conducts and publishes studies and surveys and promotes conferences for their consideration. The Institute's aim is to combine the scientific method with the religious motive. It coöperates with other social and religious agencies, but is itself an independent organization.

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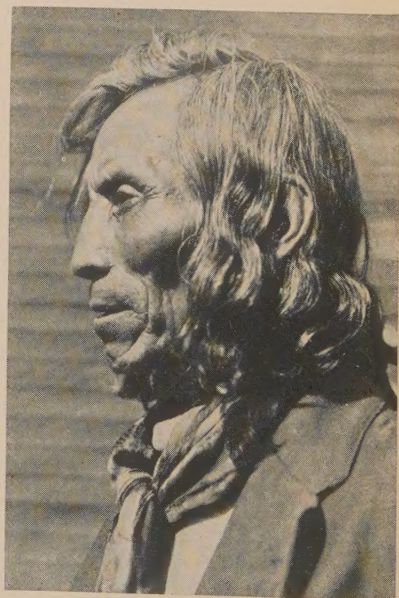
Couer d'Alene Woman



Kootenai Woman



A Flathead Chief



Kalispell

SOME INDIAN TYPES

THE RED MAN IN THE UNITED STATES

AN INTIMATE STUDY OF THE
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS
LIFE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Made Under the Direction of
G. E. E. LINDQUIST

With a Foreword by
HONORABLE CHARLES H. BURKE
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS



NEW YORK

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FOREWORD

By HONORABLE CHARLES H. BURKE

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

The reader of the following pages will hardly fail to recognize the worthy purpose of a survey and study of Indian conditions that now furnishes information not only of general interest but of special value to social, economic, and religious activities in the United States. This volume, which is the result of painstaking inquiry covering several years, reveals a fair and serious motive and is refreshingly free from the pessimistic, dramatic, sentimental, and satirical sketchings of Indian life that have pictured with confusing effect so much discussion and literature on that subject. The present policy of assimilating the Indian with the general population and citizenship of the country is treated thoughtfully and with discerning forecast, and the conclusion stated, that the chief requisites to that end are "education, sympathetic understanding, patience, and fellowship," evidences sincere and careful investigation. Any one having important connection with the administration of Indian affairs will soon reach the same conclusion. The Federal Indian Service is guided by it to-day more than ever.

Practically all our work for the civilization of the Indian has become educational: teaching the language he must of necessity adopt, the academic knowledge essential to ordinary business transactions, the common arts and crafts of the home and field, how to provide a settled dwelling and elevate its domestic quality, how to get well when he is sick and how to stay well, how to make the best use of his land and the water accessible to it, how to raise the right kind of live-stock, how to work for a living, save money and start a bank account,

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how to want something he can call his own, a material possession with the happiness and comforts of family life and a pride in the prosperity of his children; teaching him to see the future as a new era and one inevitably different from his past, in which individual ambition, unaided by the show and trappings of ancient custom, must contend with the complexities and competition of a modern world. It is this policy of sympathy, patience, and humanity, which for thirty years has encountered no hostile Indian uprisings such as marked every previous decade for three centuries, that is preserving and reconstructing the Red Race. It is this process of spiritual understanding and fellowship to which the virtues of a dependent but valorous people are most responsive, and with which all organized or individual philanthropy can effectively coöperate.

The Indian Bureau welcomes the coöperation of the Church. It appreciates the aid of all welfare societies that are moved by a genuine spirit of altruism and in which the finer instincts of womanhood are active. The value of these elevating influences is well-nigh incalculable, and they have splendidly supported the Government in efforts that have placed in schools a percentage of Indian children equal to the proportion of school attendance throughout the United States, that have widely supplanted nomadic habits with settled home conditions, taught men the dignity of hard work and self-reliance, brought sympathy and understanding to Indian mothers and health to their babies, put hygiene into housekeeping, encouraged practical and sanitary clothing, purified marriage rites, revealed the principles of Christian living, and steadily increased the Indian population.

The Indian's spirituality is nourished by traditions as ancient as his racial infancy. Many of these are as beautiful and as worthy of historic preservation as the finest fancies of classic mythology. Many may be retained and cherished in the Indian's cultural progress, but many are benighted and sometimes degrading, and to lead the Indian away from debasing conceptions which the loom of time has interwoven with his sacredest aspirations is a labor of faith, of patience, of phi-

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lanthropy that knows no discouragement although the ends aimed at may seem far away.

Out of this humane regard for the mind, the body, the character of the American Indian, has developed the most sympathetic and the profoundest service of the Indian Bureau, a service which cannot be done hurriedly or harshly but must grow out of kindly and persuasive methods, and must not be deterred by short-sighted criticism.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Charles F. Burke". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'C' and 'B'.

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From some of his friends among the alien race which has fallen heir to his expansive heritage the "original American" may well pray to be delivered. Everybody knows the representation of him as a lonely, pathetic figure, seated on a drooping horse, his gaze turned toward the setting sun, the emblem of a dying race. That is a dramatic but utterly misleading picture, hardly less misleading, indeed, in its well-intentioned appeal for sympathy than the frankly hostile portrayal of the Indian race as not only dying, but hopelessly degenerate—an ignorant generalization based upon individual cases where the vices of the white man have been superimposed with deplorable results upon the Indian's racial weaknesses. More or less the same point of view is that of the sentimentalists. Contrasting the "noble ~~red~~ man" of the past, superbly decked in war paint and feathers, with the Indian farmer, day laborer, logger or fisherman of to-day, unesthetically clad in the drab garments of the village store, they find the picture unsatisfying to their romantic fancy. They would preserve the Indian permanently as a museum piece, withholding from him the advantages of education and civilizing influences which will one day merge him in the general citizenship of the nation. Finally, there are the humorists, at whose hands "Mr. Lo," as they like to call him, has suffered a good deal. Of late years, particularly, the accidental prosperity of a few individuals has afforded unrivaled opportunity for a cheap sneer against the race. "Lo, the rich Indian!" ejaculates the humorist, wagging a merry finger in the general direction of Oklahoma. The fact is, of course, that only the Osages and a limited number among two or three other tribes in Indian Territory have managed to "profiteer" from the white man's well-intentioned efforts to segregate them on some of the most unpromising lands in the United States.

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The Indian of to-day is neither rich, nor is he, on the average, abjectly poor. Certainly he is far from waiting patiently for extinction. The Indian population of the United States is greater to-day than it was fifty years ago, and among most tribes it shows a small but steady increase year by year. A decrease is noted only where epidemics have played havoc or where constant intermarriage has lowered the vitality of a given tribe. The individual Indian displays an increasing ability to cope with changed conditions. He is learning gradually to develop the natural resources of the Indian reservations which dot twenty-six states and cover approximately 50,000,000 acres. Much of this land is mountainous and barren, but more than 800,000 acres of it are under cultivation by the Indians themselves.¹ To outdoor occupations, such as stock-raising, farming, fishing, logging, trapping and similar pursuits, the Indian takes kindly, while in his home life, in health and housing conditions, a marked improvement has taken place in the last twenty-five years. The vitality of the race is a surprise to its conquerors, who have long since abandoned the policy of extermination as a solution of the Indian problem.

The reason that an Indian problem still exists, after 430 years of contact between red man and white, has been summed up by Dr. F. A. McKenzie, in the "Journal of Race Development," in one terse sentence: "The aspiration of the monk and the greed of the adventurer crossed the Atlantic in the three caravels of 1492 and took joint possession of the continent." In North America the reason was even more purely economic—"the greed of the adventurer." There the constant encroachment of white settlers upon lands guaranteed by treaty to the Indians "for ever" made a problem inevitable. A century of such encroachments, with their customary se-

¹ The following from a speech delivered by Honorable E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at Baltimore, November, 1922, is of interest on this point: "The Indians of the United States in recent years have made remarkable progress in agriculture and stock-raising. They own live-stock valued at approximately \$35,000,000, consisting of 265,000 horses, 300,000 cattle, and 1,400,000 sheep. About 43,000 Indians are farming nearly 900,000 acres of land, as compared with 20,000 Indians cultivating 550,000 acres ten years ago."

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quence of retaliatory massacres and punitive wars, perpetuated the problem. Only within the last generation has a more enlightened Governmental policy, supplemented by the activities of religious and educational agencies, brought a solution within sight.

The object of the survey of the North American Indian, of which this volume gives the results, was by the accumulation and presentation of all the most important facts in the situation to speed the solution of the problem. The present survey, which is of a more comprehensive nature than has ever before been undertaken, has attempted to collect all the data available concerning social, economic, religious and educational conditions among the 340,000 Indians scattered through the United States. In particular, the survey has sought to supply data which will assist the Protestant churches to extend their constructive work in the Indian field. Important elements in this part of the survey were the discovery of groups heretofore untouched by any religious agency and the attainment of a better understanding among the agencies already at work, so as to secure a unified approach to the task in hand and to avoid the perils and waste of overlapping.

The American Indian Survey was launched in September, 1919, as part of the ambitious survey projects of the Inter-church World Movement, at the request of Indian missionaries and workers gathered in conference at Wichita, Kansas. It was taken over in 1921 by the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys and was completed in 1922. In the work of compiling data, which in 90 per cent. of cases were obtained by actual field visits, the Committee gratefully acknowledges the assistance of missionaries, field secretaries, native pastors, Government officials and numerous volunteer workers, all trained investigators with a background of Indian experience. Agencies whose coöperation is also gratefully acknowledged have been the Home Missions Council, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Indian Rights Association. More specific acknowledgments are made elsewhere.

The survey has proceeded along three main lines of

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research: (1) Detailed studies were undertaken of social, economic, and religious conditions in the 161 reservations of the United States, as well as in other communities where Indians are to be found in any appreciable numbers. Due importance was attached to tribal history and traditions as a background for these studies. (2) The Indian schools, both Government and mission, were carefully surveyed, from the point of view, first, of their general educational status and equipment, and secondly, of the opportunity presented for a unified program of religious education. (3) Exhaustive studies were made of the Protestant mission stations and native churches.²

Growing out of the survey, twelve conferences on Christian work among Indians in various sections of the United States were held during 1921-22. These conferences were under the auspices of the Joint Committee on Indian Missions of the Home Missions Council and the Council of Women for Home Missions, with the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys coöperating. The attendance, numbering in all considerably over 500, consisted of secretaries of national boards doing Indian work, state and local administrators of home missions, missionaries of the various denominations from Indian fields, Government officials and others interested in the welfare of the Indian.

At these conferences the facts and findings of the survey were presented and opportunity for correcting and supplementing data was given. In translating information into action and facts into programs, specific recommendations were made by each conference and referred through the Joint Committee on Indian Missions to the several denominational boards or other agencies concerned. The spirit of coöperation that

² The survey was under Protestant auspices and naturally focused its attention mainly upon Protestant work. Evidently, however, in a field like the Indian in which Roman Catholic missions have played so important a part, no proper perspective could be obtained without taking the Catholic work into account. While, therefore, the survey made no attempt to obtain detailed figures regarding the Catholic missions, every effort was made to obtain accurate information of a general character concerning their work.

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characterized these gatherings was most notable. At one conference, in particular, there sat representatives of three denominations who had never before met together to discuss common problems, although they had worked among the same tribes for more than forty years. As a result a Continuation Committee was appointed to carry out the findings and make additional recommendations for further coöperative work.³

On the whole, friends of the Indian—and particularly those fast friends of his, the faithful missionaries and the no less faithful officials of the Indian Bureau—have reason to feel gratified by his present status. It is, for instance, especially significant that approximately 185,000 of the 340,000 Indians of the United States are now citizens, and that 70,000 Indian children are now in school. These figures mean that the Indian is more and more taking his place in the body politic, just as he bore a generous share in the military burden of the Great War.⁴ It is gratifying, too, to note the improvement which has taken place in recent years in such vital matters as health, sanitation, housing, marital relations and the position of women. Christianity, which numbers 80,000 Protestant and 65,000 Roman Catholic adherents among these Indians, is not only winning converts to the "Jesus Road," as the Indians sometimes call it, but is causing by precept and example the practical application of its teachings to Indian homes. The Protestant work among the Indians is represented by twenty-six denominations and societies, having 597 mission stations and churches, 428 pastors and missionaries, and more than \$1,000,000 invested in buildings.

One of the brightest pages in Indian history is that which records the work of the Christian missions. Nevertheless,

³ For the detailed report of the findings of these various conferences the reader is referred to the headquarters of his home mission board or to the Home Missions Council. The more important of the findings will, however, be found incorporated in the text of this volume, together with the reservation and church reports.

⁴ Fully 12,000 Indians joined the colors in the Great War (some place figure even higher), 85 per cent of these being volunteers, since non-citizen Indians were exempt from the draft. As a matter of fact, the Indian has played a courageous part in every one of the wars of the United States.

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there are blank spaces on the page waiting to be filled. Satisfaction over what has already been accomplished may well be tempered by the discovery, made by the survey, that there are 46,000 Indians on forty reservations untouched and uninfluenced to any large extent by any church, while there are 20,000 Indian children of school age not attending school, and from 9,000 to 10,000 unprovided with school facilities. Again, while the old superstitions and customs have lost much of their former influence, and the medicine man is no longer the powerful factor in tribal affairs that he used to be, the new and insidious cult of peyote (the Indian's cocaine) that has sprung up of recent years and spread at an alarming rate through the reservations, threatens to rival the malign influence of the medicine man and to exceed that of the "firewater" whose place it is in some instances taking.

Those who know the Indian best—missionaries, Government officials and leading representatives of the Indian race—are the least inclined to sentimentalize over him. To the vision of such friends, unobscured by romantic fancy or antiquarian zeal, the Indian appears not as an interesting relic of the past, but as a future citizen, at present in a difficult stage of transition, but destined ultimately to be merged, like other racial groups, into the general population of the country. Like those other groups, the Indian has his own contributions to make to the body politic. Granted that he displays often the defects of his qualities, yet those qualities should make him a valuable citizen. It should never be forgotten that it was to the hospitality, loyalty and generosity—characteristic Indian virtues—of the Indian Chief, Massasoit, that the Pilgrim-adventurers of the *Mayflower* owed their lives during that first terrible winter at Plymouth. The breach of faith which led to the war with Massasoit's son, King Philip, was not to be laid at the door of the Indians. If some of the physical qualities of the Indian, his splendid physique, his inuredness to the hardships of the trail, have somewhat degenerated under enforced inactivity, yet the moral counterparts of these qualities remain part of the heritage of the race: the proud reserve of the Indian, his self-possession, his stoical endurance

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of pain and hunger, are characteristics that command respect. Above all, the religious instinct is of the very fiber of the race. The crude Messianic beliefs prevalent among many Indian tribes responded readily to the teachings of the early missionaries, and the Indian of to-day continues to respond by "outward and visible signs" to the "inward and spiritual grace" bestowed upon him through increasing knowledge of the word of the "Great Spirit."

It is hoped that the present volume may appeal not only to those who for special reasons are particularly interested in Indian affairs, but also to a considerable extent to the reading public. The present status and future possibilities of "the original American" are subjects in which every American citizen has a legitimate and should have a keen interest. For the sake of convenience, the volume is divided into two parts. Part I, without pretending to delve deeply into the historical or ethnological aspects of the subject, aims to give the background necessary for an intelligent understanding of the problem by the general reader. Part II presents in geographical arrangement the results of the surveys of the various reservations. Here again every effort has been made to supply the necessary background of history and tradition. The principal conclusions warranted by the survey as a whole are recapitulated in the final chapter of Part II. Statistics relating to churches and schools are for the most part printed in solid type. Wherever possible technical or detailed matter, likely to be required only by a limited number of readers, has been thrown into appendices, where also will be found a bibliography.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the large number of men and women who have generously contributed of their time and effort in the making of this survey the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys offers grateful acknowledgment. A long list could be given of those who by helpful counsel and sympathetic criticism have aided in the production of this volume; but the following specific acknowledgments, at least, should be made.

The carrying of the work to completion was made possible only through the unflagging energy and "infinite capacity for taking pains" of Mr. G. E. E. Lindquist, the Director of the survey, who was released for the work by the courtesy of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

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GALEN M. FISHER,
Executive Secretary,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND
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THE RED MAN
IN THE UNITED STATES

PART ONE

THE RED MAN IN THE UNITED STATES

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

RED MAN AND WHITE

The Americans¹ whom our forefathers first met on the shores of the New World reflected a young, vigorous and growing civilization. Most of their tribes were in a semi-nomadic stage, with the vast continent providing their needs. They did not express themselves in durable architectural forms, as did the Aztecs, and, except for the examples of the cliff-dwellers and the so-called pueblos, the student of to-day is dependent upon archeology to uncover vestiges of their early culture. While their architecture was not durable because of the nomadic spirit of the builders and the perishable materials used in its construction, none the less it was a prototype for the early Spanish builders who, forced to use the same materials, utilized the rude knowledge of their Indian converts. Nevertheless, memories of primitive American culture, more durable than architecture, survive to this day. A. B. Hulbert² and Prof. F. J. Turner³ have separately pointed out the great influence the Indian has had upon the development of this country. His successors have adopted his trails, his camping-grounds, his waterways and trade routes, and these form

¹ It is interesting to note (*Encyclopedia Britannica*) that "the appellation 'Americans' was for a long time used in English to designate, not the European colonists, but the aborigines, and when, in 1891, Dr. D. G. Brinton published his notable monograph on the Indians he entitled it 'The American Race,' recalling the early employment of the term."

² "Historic Highways of America," New York, 1902-1905.

³ Proceedings of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1889 and 1894.

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to-day the main arteries and channels of travel and commerce. Furthermore, the vocabulary of the modern American is enriched by many words drawn from Indian speech—names of places, of food and medicines and clothing and familiar terms of speech connected with out-door life.

These early Americans lived a wholesome migratory life and enjoyed a communistic form of government. Where ownership of land or property prevailed it was vested in the tribe rather than in the individual. Whatever tribal or religious organizations they had were of a primitive kind. The scattered tribes had little intercourse with one another, and hence different languages grew up which made impossible a community of thought and of ideals such as might have welded them together as a race into a homogeneous whole. Inter-tribal alliances and confederations represented the limit reached in the way of consolidation. Such tribal boundaries as had been established were defended jealously from outside encroachments and thus an almost incessant warfare was carried on in which sometimes whole tribes were wiped out.

THE FIRST ENTENTE CORDIALE

All historians agree that the first contact of the Indian and the white man was not only amicable but cordial. Columbus and his followers were regarded as messengers sent by the Great Spirit, and treated with reverence. This truth is strikingly recognized in the official seal of the State of Florida, which pictures the Indian standing on the beach with outstretched hands, inviting the whites to share the land with him. What happened on the Florida coast was duplicated in Virginia, Massachusetts and elsewhere.

History also records that in those early days the Indian befriended the white man in times of dire need. The romantic story of Pocahontas has many historic counterparts attesting the fidelity and loyalty of Indian relations with the whites. While the settlers were numerically weak, they maintained friendly relations with the Indians. But as the New World became better known, the number of colonists increased, and



A Makeshift Home on Fort Bidwell Reservation, California



A Yakima Tepee of Woven Willow Sticks

TYPES OF INDIAN DWELLINGS



A Chippewa Tepee with Birchbark Cover, Minnesota



A Wikiup in Arizona

TYPES OF INDIAN DWELLINGS

RED MAN AND WHITE

among the new arrivals was a class of aggressive adventurers, with no regard for the rights of others, especially those of a primitive people. The Indian was pushed aside; his hunting rights were ignored, his treaties forgotten, whenever he stood in the way of these rough newcomers. He was no longer regarded as a friend, but as an obstacle to the progress of the New World. The story of Naboth's Vineyard was reenacted many times.

It should be noted here that for a time serious efforts were made by the colonies to advance the welfare of the Indians along spiritual and material lines. Wise plans were formulated, notably in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia, to protect and advance the interests of the Indians, and with good results. Had that policy been universal throughout the colonies, and lived up to, there probably would be no Indian problem to-day.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The Government's dealing with the Indians falls naturally into three stages. First comes the Colonial Period, extending to the close of the Revolutionary War.⁴ At this time the treatment accorded the Indian was largely a local matter, and often inspired by expediency. There were some among the Pilgrims and their successors who, as Rufus Choate wittily put it, "first landed on their knees and then on the aborigines." Treaties were made breathing the spirit of friendship, only to be broken when the white man wanted the lands of the Indian.

THE NATIONAL PERIOD

There followed the National Period, extending to 1870. The declared policy of the Government toward the Indian would seem to be all that could be desired. Treaties and agreements teemed with promises of good faith and good intention.

⁴ James Mooney remarks that "in all the Southern colonies Indian slaves were bought and sold and kept in servitude and worked in the fields side by side with negroes up to the time of the Revolution" (19th Report, Bureau of American Ethnology).

THE RED MAN IN THE UNITED STATES

Had these promises been lived up to, the "century of dishonor" might have been avoided.⁵

In looking over these treaties one is struck by the ornate and exaggerated language in which the terms are couched, in marked contrast to the simple, elemental vocabulary which characterizes the Indian tongue. Consequently the very language used in the treaties often led to misunderstanding as to both the meaning and the mode of carrying out provisions. In his dealings with the Government the Indian found some one other than "the Great White Father at Washington" that had to be reckoned with. This, in fact, was not an individual but a cumbersome machine, lacking in human contacts and unable to express itself in delicate shades of meaning when such were required, or to yield in compromise when such a course would have been wise and expedient. The Indian, in contrast, could speak only through his chiefs or headmen. After due consideration with their tribesmen in council, these made their thumb-marks or signed their agreements, in implicit faith that literal language was intended in the phrase so often used, "as long as the grass grows and the rivers run." Hence the disastrous Indian wars with their great cost in life and money which have soiled the pages of our country's early history.⁶ The one deplorable fact which has stood out in all

⁵ There is a record of 370 important treaties made with the Indian, and incorporated in the statutes of the United States from 1778 to 1871.

⁶ It is remarkable that the charge of a "Century of Dishonor" in dealing with the Indians has never been denied in Government circles, but is frankly admitted. In the "Handbook of American Indians," published by the Bureau of Ethnology, an official reviewed the situation as follows:

"Preëminent among the difficulties in the way of carrying out a just, humane and consistent policy, has been and still is the antagonism, born of the ignorance of both races of each other's mode of thought, social ideals, and structure, and customs, together with persistent contention about land, one race defending its birthright, the other race ignoring native claims and regarding the territory as vacant. As a result, a dual condition has existed—on the one side, a theoretic government plan, ideal and worthy; on the other, modifications of this plan, in compliance with local ignorance and greed. The laws and regulations of the United States Government applying to the Indian tribes, with few exceptions, have been framed to conserve their rights. The wars, which have cost much blood and treasure, the enforced removals, the dishonest practices and degrading influences that stain the page of history have all come about in violation of these laws and of solemn compacts of the Government with native tribes."

RED MAN AND WHITE

relations between the Government and the Indian has been *the lack of comprehensive and settled policy*.

One great difficulty in adhering to any sound policy was the constant change in the personnel of the Government—in both the legislative and the executive branches. The agreements and treaties were made by commissions, usually composed of honorable men, who aimed to secure justice for the Indians, but when their particular work was accomplished, they had no further voice in the faithful execution of the compact by the Government—whether legislative or administrative.

When the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was ratified by Congress in 1848, a commission was appointed, with instructions to make provisions for the land rights of the various bands of Mission Indians living in California. The Commission was duly named, but it failed to do its duty, and the Indians were the sufferers. The case was carried to the United States Supreme Court, by the Indian Rights Association,⁷ in an effort to prevent the eviction of these Indians from their ancient homes, but a decision was rendered to the effect that as the Commission had been appointed, under authority of Congress, it was to be presumed that the instructions given them had been complied with.

THE MODERN PERIOD

The Modern Period may be described as beginning with the inauguration of Grant's famous "Peace Policy."⁸ At this

⁷ See Appendix IV., § II.

⁸ In his message to Congress, under date of December 6, 1869, President Grant said:

"From the foundation of the Government to the present the management of the original inhabitants of this continent—the Indians—has been a subject of embarrassment and expense, and has been attended with continuous robberies, murders and wars. From my own experience upon the frontiers and in Indian countries, I do not hold either legislation or the conduct of the whites who come most in contact with the Indians blameless for these hostilities. The past, however, cannot be undone, and the question must be met as we now find it. I have attempted a new policy toward these wards of the Nation (they cannot be regarded in any other light than as wards), with fair results, so far as tried, and which I hope will be attended ultimately with great success."

For the influence of the policy on Christian missions see page 60.

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time agreements, entered into by the various tribes, took the place of treaties. The right of Congress to initiate these agreements, with the Indian's cession of land or anything else, was sustained by court action, the most notable case being the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache case, which was brought all the way to the Supreme Court and which resulted in a decision, in 1903, establishing the right of Congress to abrogate the provisions of the Indian's treaty or to enter into such agreement with any Indian tribe as might seem proper. In the last analysis, however, the Government's dealings with the Indian during the modern period have not been determined by any policy of "checks and balances" as to legislative and executive departments, etc., but have been influenced largely by public opinion and in marked degree by humanitarian motives.

THE SEGREGATION IDEA

Thus the idea of occupation by conquest and by extermination gave way to that of segregation. The famous Indian Territory experiment had already been launched.⁹ There followed the introduction of the "reservation system." The belief was general that the solution of the problem arising between the white and the red races lay in keeping them as far apart as possible. Consequently, the areas known as reservations were set apart by the Government for the sole occupancy of the tribe or tribes, and this land, at the outset at least, was held in common by the tribal members. Statesmen considered the territory west of the Mississippi as most suitable, for there seemed little likelihood in the early years of the nineteenth century of the white population ever encroaching on the areas thus reserved.

It was, however, unfortunate that some of the officials charged with administering the "Peace Policy" failed not only to understand the Indian nature, but were ready to ignore existing treaties and agreements, and to attempt experiments

⁹ See under Five Tribes, Ch. IV, § I.

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that past experience had conclusively proved to be unjust and inhuman. The inevitable result was more violence and bloodshed. There was added to the Peace Policy, about 1873, the "steady concentration of the smaller bands of Indians upon the larger reservations," the one theory being that it would be more economical from an administrative standpoint. This concentration policy led to the Modoc War of 1872-3, and to trouble with the Sioux in 1876, with the Nez Percés in 1877, and with the Chiricahua Apaches and other tribes in Arizona. In a number of instances Christian missionaries, whose wise guidance had enabled Indian tribes to make rapid progress in civilization, had to abandon all that had been gained, and start afresh in a new locality. Obviously, permanent progress under such a policy was impossible.

Another factor which seemed to prove the reservation policy a bane rather than a blessing was the ration system. In order to keep the Indians docile and peaceable, clothing, food and other necessities of life were doled out piecemeal to the various tribes within the reservations. The effect was pauperizing and quickly led to degeneracy. The idleness, which reservation life fostered, led to indulgence in such vices as gambling and drinking, which further debauched the Indian.

THE POLICY OF ASSIMILATION

Notwithstanding the bunglings and failures connected with the Peace Policy, President Grant's high motives had paved the way for the present policy of *assimilation*, whereby the tribal relations have been going through a disintegrating process and the Indian put on an individual basis. Thoughtful friends of the Indian realized that the reservation system could not, and should not, be continued indefinitely, and that the ultimate goal was to merge the Indian into our body politic. In 1887 the first significant move toward citizenship was made by the passage of the Dawes Act, whereby the reservations were to be broken up, the land allotted in severalty to be held for a period of twenty-five years as non-taxable, following which a patent in fee was to be issued, and the sur-

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plus land sold and opened to white people for settlement.¹⁰ This was a far-sighted and benevolent policy, the purpose of which was to prepare the Indian for full citizenship during the period of probation and insure his economic independence and self-support.¹¹

THE INDIAN BALLOT

It is true that some of these expectations were realized, but since the trust patent gave the Indians the right to vote, while the overwhelming majority were still ignorant, it can easily be imagined how the Indian was victimized and corrupted. Because of the debauching of the Indian's ballot, coupled with other abuses which crept into the Indian country, the Dawes Act was strengthened by an amendment known as the Burke Act in 1906. This postponed the granting of the franchise until the trust period had expired, while it also gave to the Secretary of the Interior the right to shorten the twenty-five years' probation period in individual cases provided the Indians concerned had reached the stage where they could manage their own affairs and could be declared competent. Thus "Competency Commissions" have arisen throughout the Indian country whose business it is to pass on the qualifications for citizenship of applicants from the various tribes.¹² Under the operation of this law and the subsequent acts, 184,968 Indians are citizens of the United States, although many of them are still in the restricted class as regards their property.¹³

The history of the white man's dealings with the Indian can therefore be summed up in three words descriptive of the

¹⁰ The act also provided for the citizenship of any Indian by his voluntary separation from tribal relations and the adoption of the habits of civilized life.

¹¹ Bishop Whipple, that veteran missionary to the Chippewas, once remarked: "No man is truly civilized until he has something he can call his own."

¹² The act of June 25, 1910, also provides for the allotment of lands to Indians from the public domain with the issuance of a fee patent as provided for in the case of reservation allotments.

¹³ For a summary of the Legal Status of the Indian, see Appendix V.

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three periods: Extermination, Concentration, Assimilation. The first two were tried and found wanting. Under the last, gratifying progress has been made along material, mental and spiritual lines, and it is unbelievable that there will be any return to the older "policies." It should not be overlooked, however, that under the present policy the Indian is being asked to take, in a generation or two, a "step" that required centuries for the Anglo-Saxon, and if he does not always measure up to expectations that does not imply failure.

PRESENT POPULATION

The present Indian population of the United States is 340,838.¹⁴ There are fifty-eight distinct linguistic family groups divided into 280 separate tribes or bands. Thirty years ago, the Census reported 226,000 Indians in the Continental United States. This would go to show a slow but steady increase due to a more ready adjustment to the demands of modern civilized life. There are 161 separate reservations (including nineteen Spanish grants) of varying size, materially differing in soil and climate. Most of them are west of the Mississippi River, and there the large majority of Indians reside. But in every state of the Union, even where there are no reservations, Indians are to be found who have adopted the habits of civilized life.

¹⁴ According to the 1921 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. These figures are based on reports of the Indian School Superintendents, supplemented by information from the 1920 Census for localities in which no Indian Office representative is located. The figure given represents an increase of approximately 13,500 in the last ten years.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION

Until 1824 the handling of Indian affairs was entrusted to the War Department. In that year a special Bureau of Indian Affairs was organized, and upon the establishment, in 1849, of the Department of the Interior, the Bureau was transferred to this branch of the executive service. The Bureau's function has been to stand between the Indian and the white man in the capacity of a guardian,¹ and to impress the Indian with an understanding of the white man's civilization in order to prepare him for full citizenship. Presiding over this Bureau is the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Associated with him are some 5,000 employees, most of whom are now under the Civil Service, though some are political appointments. Approximately one-third of the employees of the Indian Service are Indians.

Originally the Bureau was largely a civilizing agency, concerned chiefly with such welfare activities as education, health, the distribution of rations, the suppression of the liquor traffic, the maintenance of law and order. Gradually, however, it has grown into a huge business enterprise. At the present time it handles large estates, delves into the oil industry, is interested in bonuses and royalties and in the disposition of great timbered areas. It conducts a large cattle business and to some extent has even gone into the fishing industry. It arranges leases and rentals (16,205,431 acres of tribal lands were leased in 1921), and carries on an immense banking business. As an instance of the last, it may be mentioned that one agency handles 18,000 individual accounts, and that tribal property belonging to the Indians is valued at \$190,600,152. When one appreciates the immense volume

¹ The Indian is, in a sense, considered as a ward, although the term is not technically correct and is disliked by the Indians.

ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION

of business thus carried on from year to year, the intricate character of many of the transactions, the time element involved, and the arduous tasks and responsibilities which are involved, it is not surprising that the oft-repeated slogan "Do away with the Indian Bureau" fails to offer a convincing appeal to thoughtful friends of the Indian.

That abuses have crept into the system no one will deny. Organizations, such as the Indian Rights Association, during thirty-nine years of its history, have done much by pitiless publicity and agitation to expose evils and right wrongs. The World War depleted the ranks of the Indian Bureau, but since the close of the war efforts have been made to strengthen its personnel. To-day, the "Indian Service," as it is popularly called, offers many opportunities to young men and women eager to enlist in a worthy cause. The salaries are not large and often the hours are long, but the challenge is insistent and the rewards are enduring.²

BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Efforts to bring education to the Indian youths began with the earliest missionaries, who carried with them into the wilderness not only the Bible but also the textbook. Evidence of early interest in the matter of Indian education is found in Harvard's charter of 1650, which dedicated the college to "the education of English and Indian youth . . . in knowledge and godlynes." The second building at Harvard, erected in 1654, was called "the Indian College," and contained the college press on which John Eliot's Indian Bible and various Indian primers, grammars, tracts, catechisms, etc., were printed. There were some Indian undergraduates at Harvard in those early days but only one seems to have taken the bachelor's degree, a Caleb Cheeshateaumuck, in 1665.

² At the Survey Conference, held at El Reno, Oklahoma, October, 1921, and attended by representative missionaries, church leaders and Government officials, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That the representatives of the various mission boards who visit the colleges and universities recruiting workers for Christian service urge upon them the opportunity for such service in Indian schools."

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Dartmouth College was an outgrowth of Wheelock's Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., and there were many other schools in New England. Dartmouth's royal charter, granted in 1769, provided "that there would be a college erected in our said Province of New Hampshire, by the name of Dartmouth College, for the education and instruction of Youth of the Indian Tribes of this Land, in reading, writing and all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and Christianizing children of pagans, as well as in all liberal Arts and Sciences, and also of English Youth and any other." Princeton College, at the close of the 18th century, taught one Thomas Killbuck and his cousin, George Brighteyes, son of a Delaware chief, and a descendant of Taimenend, the name from which "Tammany" was derived.

Although the first Indian school was founded by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in 1651, in Massachusetts, it was not until 1877 that the Government made its first appropriation of \$20,000 toward Indian education.^{2a} This educational program was launched on the theory that the Indian child should be removed from his tribal life and environment, and brought up like a white child under civilized conditions. In 1878, Lieut. R. H. Pratt brought to Hampton Institute a group of Indians who had been held as prisoners of war in the South. The following year Carlisle was founded, not far from Harrisburg, Pa., as the first distinctively Government Indian school.³

General Pratt may thus be called "the father of the Government Indian school system." His slogan was "Get the Indian away from the reservation into civilization, and when you get him there, keep him." The theory was that the Indian youth would be so attracted by his environment that, after his education was completed, he would be contented to settle down in some white community and never return to his own people.

^{2a} This refers to the launching of a definite educational system. The first general appropriation for Indian education was made in 1819. Appropriations were also made from time to time to assist societies and schools in their educational endeavors. Many Indian treaties also contained provisions for the education of Indian youth.

³ The Carlisle School was continued until the time of the World War (1918), when it was closed and returned to the War Department as a hospital for convalescents.

ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION

It was a beautifully simple idea, but it failed to take account of certain imponderables such as primitive instincts and natural affections, and it was found not to work out in practice. It paved the way, however, for the next constructive step, which was the establishment on the reservations of boarding schools to which parents could send their children and still continue to see them at occasional intervals.

With the opening up of reservations to white settlement a further step forward was taken. The white people brought with them their district schools, and for the children of certain Indian communities the Government provided day schools giving elementary training up to the third or fourth grade and enabling the children to remain under parental control during the formative period of their lives. These day schools were intended to fit the pupils for the reservation boarding schools, which would take them up to the sixth grade and in turn prepare them for non-reservation schools of the type of Haskell, Chilocco, Sherman, Chemawa and others where at least an eighth grade education was offered and where emphasis was laid on industrial and agricultural training.

Side by side with these developments in Indian education, a number of mission schools had continued operations under formal contract with the Government whereby they were paid so much per capita for the children enrolled. Toward the close of the last century, however, this arrangement was brought to an end, and most of the Government contract mission schools remaining at the present time are those under Roman Catholic auspices referred to later. The justification advanced for the continuance of any of these schools is that only tribal funds are used for their maintenance and hence the law against the appropriation of public funds for sectarian education is not violated.⁴

Probably the Government school system has worked as well as could be expected, representing as it has an attempt at compromise between the advocates of reservation and of non-reservation schools. If a relatively small percentage of Indian

⁴ See under Rosebud Reservation, Ch. XI, § IV.

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pupils climb or have the opportunities of climbing all the rungs of the educational ladder thus provided, that is a condition by no means peculiar to the Indian school system. In any event the present system should be regarded as a temporary expedient, although in the nature of the case its operation must be continued for a number of years. With the breaking up of tribal life and the gradual merging of the Indian into the white communities, practically all states have opened their public schools to the Indians. Already fully 34,000 Indian children are enrolled as pupils in the public schools, and are thus not only receiving the advantages of public education, but are learning to compete upon an equal footing with white children. Ultimate enrollment of all Indian children in the public schools is the goal, distant it is true but already dimly visible.

At the present time the Government maintains 268 schools for Indian children. Of this number, 166 are day schools, fifty-two are reservation boarding schools and twenty-one are termed non-reservation, because they are not on any particular tribal reservation, but admit children from various tribes, and usually give vocational training. Of these non-reservation schools two are sanatoria where incipient tubercular children are treated and educated, and nineteen are known as "contract schools," fourteen of them being Roman Catholic. There are also eight tribal schools in eastern Oklahoma now under Federal supervision.⁵ The capacity of all these schools is 30,766. There are 90,448 Indian children of school age. Of these 6,815 are not eligible for attendance for one reason or another, leaving 83,633 who are eligible. Of these, 64,943 are in school.

In the survey reports, particular attention has been paid to education and school facilities. The discovery was made that where many children are out of school on a given reservation, it is due to the lack of school facilities, to indifference to school attendance, or to neglect on the part of the Indians themselves. Where the Government schools have been closed,

⁵ See Appendix II.



Courtesy of Hampton Institute

EARLY INDIAN SCHOOL DAYS

Indian Students as they came to School in the Early 'Eighties



A GIRL'S ORCHESTRA

Flandreau Indian School, South Dakota



Tooth-brush Brigade



The Kindergarten

PUEBLOS AT SCHOOL

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and practically the only schools are public schools, it has been found that in a number of instances the Indian pupils are not yet ready to attend the public schools on an equal basis with the white children. In not a few communities, prejudice has been found on the part of the whites against the enrollment of the Indian children, either for sanitary reasons, or because of social conditions involved. The school year, 1921-1922, showed a marked increase in attendance in all Indian schools maintained by the Government. This was due in part to the vigorous campaign inaugurated by the present administration of Indian affairs, and to the special efforts put forth by Field Superintendents to have pupils enrolled early in the year and to insist on regular attendance.

Since school reports are included in the survey statements in Part II of this volume,⁶ only a few aspects of Indian school problems will be touched upon here.

It is admitted by all cognizant of Indian affairs that while the Government school system represents a great advance on the old mission schools in the matter of material equipment and industrial training, in certain other respects it does not measure up so well. The reason is not far to seek. The mission schools have an *esprit de corps* and a personnel peculiar to themselves which bring about results even though the equipment is limited and the financial support meager. During the World War, the Government schools were severely handicapped in their teaching staff. Many left their positions in the Indian service to accept more lucrative positions elsewhere and have not returned. The salaries are lamentably inadequate, and a real missionary spirit is often a prerequisite if the best talent is to be secured.

THE YOUNG IDEA AND THE OLD

The change in the attitude on the part of Indian parents toward sending their children to school is worthy of note. Formerly coercion was necessary by the agency police. To-

⁶ For non-reservation schools, see Appendix II.

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day many of the larger schools have applications far in excess of their enrollment capacity. On the part of the students there is also more genuine desire for higher education than was formerly in evidence. Increasingly, from year to year, large numbers are definitely making plans to continue their education in colleges and universities.

All the schools follow the Uniform Course of Study which was adopted in 1915 and modified in 1921. This plan is not without its disadvantages in that children from widely differing types of homes and communities must all conform to a more or less inflexible course of study which may not be adjusted to meet special needs. There are, however, marked advantages both in the establishing of standards and in making possible a better grading system throughout the different schools. Since most of these are under semi-military discipline, student activities of a voluntary nature such as would ordinarily help to develop initiative and independence are all too few. Nor have courses been worked out giving instruction in social education and sex hygiene.

In the matter of religious education, the superintendents and employees of the schools conduct Sunday school and general assembly and the Government permits the churches and Christian agencies to meet with the pupils of their affiliation two hours a week for religious instruction. Many of the missionaries are availing themselves of this privilege, but there is need of a standardized course of instruction for the Protestant religious work.

THE BLANKET VERSUS STORE CLOTHES

What, then, of the product, the returned students? Do they go back to the blanket? On this subject there has been much confused thinking and false propaganda. Some have spoken of the returned students as "a demoralizing element" on or off the reservation. Others make bold to affirm that when students have actually completed courses in Government schools, where an eighth grade education is offered plus the vocational training, the number who "have returned to the

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blanket" can be counted on the fingers of one hand. It goes without saying that much unfortunate publicity has resulted from newspapers giving space to so-called "Carlisle University graduates" and "crack athletes" who are now "practicing the old Indian ways." The fact is, of course, that these Indians are not *university* graduates; they are not even high-school graduates; indeed, it is safe to say that in most instances they have not even completed the fourth grade. Is it fair to expect the Indian youth removed only by a generation from barbarism, and equipped with only a fourth, or fifth-grade education, to meet all the tests presented by a strange and aggressive civilization?

It is due, no doubt, to such an accident as the fact that Carlisle's football team used to play Harvard that the popular misconception of its pedagogic equipment and function has obtained. As a matter of fact, Carlisle was not a college; it taught no higher than the tenth grade, and unquestionably it failed, despite its many admirable qualities, to equip the Indian youths with sufficient education to face American life on equal terms. None the less the Indian schools have, through the emphasis placed on industrial training and vocational guidance, achieved notable results and their history is one of which Americans may be justly proud.⁷

That there is continued need for the type of education that the Government is furnishing is obvious from the appeals which come from the Indian country. The need is substantiated in the increased attendance, and in the protest voiced at the closing of schools during the last administration. Among the Navajos the survey reveals that fully 7,000 children are without school facilities. The boarding school is the type needed here since these Indians lead a more or less nomadic life.⁸ The situation cannot be adequately cared for by mis-

⁷ As an instance of the contribution made by the returned students may be cited the present situation among the Indians of the Southwest compared to that of twenty years ago. Among the Pimas and to a less degree among the Hopis the returned students have been a constructive force, as evidenced in the changed home life, economic efficiency and pride in educational achievement.

⁸ See Navajos, Ch. XII, § II.

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sion schools, since the mission boards are not in a position financially to compete with the Government institutions in the matter of equipment and buildings. To radiate a Christian spirit in so far as possible through a united approach and a standardizing program is the function of the churches in the schools.

CHAPTER III

THE RED MAN AND THE "GREAT SPIRIT"

There is, of course, no such single thing as "the religion of the American Indian." The beliefs of the American red man were as diverse and as conflicting as were the numerous tribes, and while it is possible to generalize along broad lines for certain groups there will be found other groups to which the generalizations will apply but faintly, or not at all.¹ Certain facts are, however, outstanding.

It is a safe assertion, borne out by the accounts of missionaries and travelers in early times, that the American Indian was essentially a religious being. Alexander Pope's familiar couplet, which for a time led to the personification of the Indian as "Mr. Lo" in cartoons and press references, aptly expresses this religious bent in the most primitive form:

"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind."

He thirsted for a knowledge of God, though at times he but faintly apprehended the true God. His firm conviction that there is a future life and that a mighty superhuman power

¹ The whole question of primitive Indian beliefs is complicated by the fact that the Indians so quickly annexed the white man's idea of a single "Great Spirit." Study of Indian beliefs did not begin until after this idea, introduced by the white man, had been widely disseminated. Dr. Alfred L. Riggs, in "What Does the Indian Worship?" has this to say upon the subject:

"This indwelling spirit of everything is called Taku Wakan (The Something Mysterious) by the Dakotas, Wakonda by the Omahas, Mahupa by the Hidatsa, Orenda by the Iroquois, and Manitou by the Algonquin. The idea underlying all the terms is the same."

"When the white man broke into the Indian's world he brought still more wonders and mysteries, and his god must be greater than the god of the Indian. So the Indian evolved the name, The Great Mysterious Being, the Wakantanka of the Dakota, Mahupaictia of the Hidatsa, and the Kitchi Manitou of the Algonquin. So the term Great Spirit has come into the white man's Indian vocabulary, but it is the God of the white man and not of the Indian."

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controls both that life and this caused him to lift his face in prayer.

VENERATION OF NATURAL PHENOMENA

The religions of the American Indians were composite and produced by blendings of various forms of worship. Among these elements may be distinguished the veneration of the sun and moon, the stars, sacred trees, the sexes and the natural forces of creation, sacred animals and reptiles, and fire. There were certain fundamental beliefs, but these were by no means uniformly distributed or regarded with identical emphasis. These major beliefs were concerned with spirits, gods, magical attributes of certain things, prayer or invocation, actions and gifts pleasing to the unseen powers, a life beyond the grave, and the influence of present action upon the future life.

To the Indian there were spirits everywhere and all natural forces were either spirits or the expression of spirits. The invisible world was full of powers, some of which had been sensed by the fortunate or privileged at certain times, but most of which were visible to shamans or medicine men, who held the most secret of intimate converse with them. Not all these spirits were good; many of them, on the contrary, were horribly evil. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to secure the good will of the good spirits and to bind them to one's service, and at the same time to placate the evil spirits in such a manner that they might be bought off from their evil designs. To discover the precise formula was the function of the priest or medicine man, but an individual might, by an "inspired" dream or by direct revelation from the spirit itself, find the rite, invocation or sacrifice deemed requisite. The shaman, therefore, was a fixture in the religious and social life of the Indian.

GODS AND SPIRITS

Like the ancients of the old world, many of the American nations believed in many gods, some good, some a strange mix-

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ture of good and evil, and some almost wholly bad. With only a few tribes was there an approximation to monotheism, though with many tribes there was a supreme god among the gods. It is quite difficult to distinguish always between gods and spirits, though in general the spirits were subservient to the gods and acted as messengers or agents for them.

The unseen world in which dwelt the gods was all about the Indian. It was believed that, while these gods and spirits could see men, men could only behold the powers of the unseen under exceptional circumstances. The powers roamed the earth and were capable of traveling great distances, sometimes even across the celestial spaces to the stars. It was only when the god or the spirit assumed a visible human or animal form that its actions were limited, but even then it was capable of great magic. Every god and major spirit had the ability to transform itself and others into varied forms, and the Indian believed that once he had won the favor of a familiar spirit or a god he might become invisible, or change himself into the form that he willed. Failing actually to accomplish this feat, he believed nevertheless that it might be done by others. The transformation myth is widely distributed throughout America.

The name "manitou" has frequently been applied as a descriptive term for the god of the Indian. With the Iroquois, who believed in several great gods and finally in a supreme good god, the name "Hawenniu," or "Ra-wen-ni-ioh," was applied. It was he who was regarded as the beneficent creator and the great power above toward whom all appeals were directed. He delighted in virtue and in a life of self-forgetfulness, and rewarded his faithful followers in the world beyond the sky. As a rule, however, the "manitou" resembled a human being of fitful moods. One never knew when he would strike in revenge or when he would bestow bounty. To such a "manitou" one only had to render the proper service in sacrifice, dance or ceremony; personal ethics counted little with him.

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MAGICAL QUALITIES

To most Indians, if not all, in aboriginal days, the world was full of "orenda." "Orenda" is mystical potency and this potency was believed to be inherent in almost anything that could be seen or touched, and in many things that were invisible.

Who could tell what magical influence might be exerted by a star, by the moon, by the spirit of a dead witch, by a false face, by a magical tune, by the powdered bones of a myth-animal? Who could say what magic lay in the sweat of the conjurer, in the water of a strange pool, in an autumn leaf that by seeming chance flitted down at one's feet? Who could tell what the signs of the powers were or what voices came from the winds? Who could interpret dreams or say whether one should obey or refuse the imaginations of an old wizard? Magic, magic was everywhere, let man beware!

"Orenda" dwelt in sacred springs whose water healed and gave power; "orenda" was in foods of the annual ceremonies; "orenda" was in the spirits of nature; but most of all "orenda" was in the person of the gods. Whom the gods had blessed were filled with "orenda."

The opposite of "orenda" was "otkon," for this was evil power and meant calamity to man. Witches were filled with "otkon" and the "okis" of the bad spirits spread the poison of the "otkon" over the land. Only the possession of "orenda" could overcome "otkon."

The life of the Indian was one continuous effort to lay hold of "orenda" and expel "otkon." To achieve this, many elaborate ceremonies were evolved, and out of this belief came the desire to be morally good, for the Indian came to see that good as well as evil rebounded and that evil always destroyed while good built up. Naturally, the Indian's idea of good and evil would not always coincide with our own.

PRAYER AND SACRIFICE

The desire to communicate with the unseen powers was ever present with the red man. It seemed a highly desirable



INDIAN GRAVES

At one end of the rude coffin is a square hole to permit the spirit's egress. In the old days food and tobacco were placed near this opening to give sustenance to the spirit, which was said to hover around the body for three days before taking flight to the Land of the Setting Sun. The headstone in the lower picture indicates the encroachment of modern ideas.

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thing to him that his heart's desire and gratitude should be expressed in word and action. Some of the finest examples of aboriginal literature extant are these ceremonial prayers of the red man, and few people in the world have been able to match the prayer of the Indian in its richness of expression and sincerity of appeal. One has only to read prayers of the Iroquois, of the Pawnee or of the Navajo to discover the real depth of the Indian's religious life.

It is interesting, as a sidelight on the religious psychology of the Iroquois, to know that most of their prayers were in reality thank offerings. The mid-winter ceremony had a prayer lasting three days in which every blessing that could be remembered was mentioned with gratitude and the thanks of the people given. "We are grateful for thy favors," chanted the Iroquois. "We are grateful for all that has been given us. Continue to bestow these favors and withdraw them not; thy children live by thy bounty and without it we cannot live. Continue to listen and inhale this sweet incense as we speak to thee; forget us not, for we are here by thy power begotten, and without thy favor we shall despair!" Here is evidence of the Indian's feeling that he must express a real appreciation for what the Creator had given lest it be withdrawn by an angered god. It was this thought that made politeness and expressions of gratitude so prevalent in the old Indian life. Prayer had a profound influence upon the red man, particularly upon those tribes with a more complex social organization. Prayer had a genuine social reaction.

The sacrifice of animals or of human beings was uncommon among the Indians north of Mexico. Human sacrifices did exist among the Pawnee in special ceremonial cases, and captives in other tribes were often sacrificed in the rite of torture to the god of war or to the sun. There was nothing analogous, however, to the common human sacrifices of the Aztecs.

The sacrifice was generally in the nature of a gift to the spirits that especially affected human welfare. Beautiful beads, amulets, ornaments, feathered articles and embroideries in porcupine quills, were frequently offered to the spirits

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of the springs, the fishing places, the corn fields or in the woods where flocks of game birds had been killed.

When some animal, such as the bear, had been killed, the Indian knelt down beside it and built a little ceremonial fire upon which he cast a tobacco incense. He would address the spirit of the bear, seeking to curb its anger at having been slain. "O brother bear, do not be angry," the Indian would say. "I needed your skin and your flesh, for I must have clothing and meat to eat. The Great Spirit has made both of us, but he has made man more cunning. I have not slain you for malice or for mere sport, so be not angry. I should not have been angry had you slain me. Come accept my sacrifice. See I cast aside the arrow that killed you, watch it burn. See I give you these beads and this knife, accept them as my gift to you and invoke no harm to me."

Growing out of a belief in the spiritual nature of the world the Indian believed that everything that lived had a spirit that was as eternal as his own. It was because of this that he addressed the spirit of the bear. If, then, all creation possessed spirit and was immortal, the Indian told himself that he must be the brother of all created things, and as such, as the offspring of a creating father, he owed a definite duty to everything in nature. The Indian, therefore, felt that he was after all only a part of the great universal fabric, and that he could not injure any other part without injury and even grave danger to himself.

THE HEAVEN WORLD

The Happy Hunting Ground of the Indian was as varied as the tribe. In general the world beyond was much like this world, but infinitely larger and giving opportunity for the perfection of human abilities and instincts. With some tribes the heaven world was the place where dwelt the good god who was the "Up-Above-Chief" of the heavens. With others this heaven world was filled with gods, and to it repaired the earth spirits for instruction. Here came the sun to report his daily findings and here rested the moon and the stars. The

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Indians have many legends of human beings who went to the heaven world while still living and of how they escaped to return to earth years later to tell of their experiences.

As the Indian religions developed a more ethical tone the belief grew that a man's happiness in the future world was enhanced by his virtuous life in this. The desire to fit one's self for the heaven world therefore impelled one to moral conduct. In the historical period these beliefs culminated in such religions as those of Tenskwatawa, Handsome Lake and Little Turtle, who taught that the evil should be tortured in hell, while the good should enjoy eternal blessings.

ETHICS

As a general thing the religion of the Indian, as with all primitive religions, had little to do with his ethics. There was of course more or less of a blending. To the Indian, religion was a system by which he could acknowledge the powers of the unseen and propitiate them. It meant that by strict conformity to religious ceremonies he might obtain the necessary guarantees of his bodily and spiritual welfare. Religion and magic were but faintly separated in his consciousness. Ethics was another matter, and while presumably the gods might reward the just, it was certain that a man who lived justly with his neighbor, told the truth and lived hospitably, got along better with his neighbor. This meant that peace reigned in the community and not bloodshed. Morality was, therefore, a social expedient and it was certainly an economic expedient. Peaceful men might work together in the production of flints, ornaments, peltries, canoes and other articles of trade.

Roger Williams, himself living the simple life of the Indian, gives us a vivid glimpse of the Indian's ethics when he exclaims:

If Nature's sons both wild and tame
Humane and courteous be,
How ill becomes the sons of God
To want Humanity!

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Thus religion entered into every phase of the Indian's life,² as he struggled in his darkness to know and to understand God. His instinctive mysticism prepared him to accept the great truths of Christianity when these were revealed, and no people have been quicker than the Indian to seize upon those truths. No missionary needed to speak over much of morals or ethics. The missionaries who came from Manhattan Island in the Dutch days, to preach to the Hudson River tribes, were sent back in disdain when they attempted to preach the commandments. "Thou fool," said the Mohican chief, in reply to such a missionary, "thou fool, dost thou think that my mother did not teach me these things while I was still at her breast? Begone!" But when the missionary Anderson came with the message that God had given His only begotten Son that sinful man might be redeemed, the Indians said: "Here indeed is a new thought. Come, tell us about this wonderful thing!"

² See under Pimas, Ch. XII, § II.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

The history of Indian missions began with the landing of Columbus, as he held the Cross before the eyes of the astonished natives. Following him came priests and adventurers, seekers after freedom and seekers after gold, learned men and refugees from justice, all looking for something that the old world could not give.

As early as 1514 Bartolomé de Las Casas, "the noblest Spaniard who ever landed on these shores," distressed at the great wrongs done to the Indian, began work to counteract them and found the task as difficult as has been that of hundreds of other faithful missionaries of all creeds, who have tried to teach a religion which seemed to be practiced by so few. Not all who came across the seas were seeking treasure for themselves. News of a great and powerful race which had never heard the Gospel reached Great Britain and Rome, and even penetrated to the little German village of Herrnhut in Upper Lusatia. From the last named came that little group of Moravians which was praised by John H. Livingstone in a sermon delivered before the New York Missionary Society, in 1804, for "their distinguished exertions for promulgating the religion of justice."

PIONEER MISSIONARIES

Notable names and events stand out in the history of the dealings of the white man with the red, shining brightly through the gloom of war and treachery, broken treaties, denominational strife, and human frailty which have so often made the Indian doubt the sincerity of the white man's religious professions. John Eliot, Jonathan Edwards, David Brainerd, Count Zinzendorf, David Zeisberger, William Penn, Samson Occom, the first great Indian preacher, Roger Williams, Isaac McCoy, Stephen R. Riggs, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, Mar-

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cus Whitman, Bishop Whipple and Bishop Hare are honorable names that come readily to the mind.

The conversion of Pocahontas, the search of the Nez Perces for the "white man's book," the wedding journey of Marcus Whitman and H. H. Spalding with the first wagon to cross the Rockies, the missionary history of California and the Southwest in the palmy days of Spanish rule, the heartbreaking journeys of Indians and missionaries as homes and families were broken up and tribes moved to strange lands—all these events are familiar history but cannot be sufficiently emphasized to show more clearly how the spirit of Christ, as taught by the early missionaries, shone through the darkest hours and kept alive the courage and spirit of an unconquered race. It was the clearness of his mental and spiritual vision, which seems to be as keen as the physical vision of his eye, that enabled the Indian to peer below the surface of racial misunderstanding into the heart of his white neighbor. There he saw the faint light of a purer and nobler life that made him willing to listen to the white man's teachings and even to ask more of the source of the light.

The list of church organizations which have worked, and are working among the American Indians is a long one. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church of England, Episcopalians, Moravians, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (formerly Congregational and Presbyterian), the Presbyterians, Friends, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, Mennonites, and later the Home Missionary societies of these and other denominations, all have some share in the task.

THE NEW MESSAGE

While Roger Williams was perhaps the first, John Eliot was the great pioneer Indian missionary. His translation of the Bible and of other books already referred to, which were printed at the Indian college, Harvard's second building, were great factors in the early conversion and civilization of the New England Indians. The first great native convert was

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Samson Occom, and the first Indian church was organized at Natick, Mass., in 1660.

The response among the tribes of the Southwest was eager and cordial, as is seen in the history of the Five Tribes¹ and in the stories of those great soldiers of the Cross who were sent out by the Moravian, Presbyterian and Congregational churches. Similar progress is recorded through the middle and interior sections. Conspicuous as pioneers were the Moravians in New York and Pennsylvania, and the Friends, who in 1796 began work, the traces of which are found from Maine to the Northwest, although the plan of their Meeting meant little in the way of organization. The American Board reached out to the land of the Dakotas, where Doctors Riggs and Williamson translated the first and, with one exception, the only complete Bible² for the Indians of the United States. Some simple textbooks, devotional works and hymn books were also translated into Dakota, and many of the tribe were taught to read and write in their own language. "It is impossible," said Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, "to estimate the effect this acquisition has had in stimulating the self-respect and ambition of the tribe." The Congregational and Presbyterian missions were also established among the Chippewas, Osages, Pawnees, Omahas, Otoes, and other tribes of the interior states at various dates in the first three-quarters of the last century. Later the larger portion of this work was transferred to the Presbyterian Home Missionary Society, with the Congregationalists retaining some of their stations among the Sioux.

¹ See Ch. X, § I.

² John Eliot's Bible was the first, but no Indians remain of the tribe in whose language it was written. The Sioux are to-day the only tribe who have the entire Bible in their own language. The following is a list of translations of parts of the Bible into other Indian languages published by the American Bible Society: Arapaho,—St. Luke; Cherokee,—the New Testament; Choctaw,—The Pentateuch, Joshua to Second Kings, Psalms; Dakota,—Entire Bible; Muskogee,—New Testament, Genesis, Psalms; Navajo,—Genesis and St. Mark, Scripture Passages; Ojibwa,—New Testament; Seneca,—The Four Gospels; Winnebago,—Genesis, Part of Exodus, The Gospels and Acts.

The Cree Bible is published by the British and Foreign Bible Society of London for the Cree Indians in Canada.

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The pioneer Methodist work in this region seems to have been by a volunteer Negro minister, a Mr. Stewart, who began preaching among the Wyandottes in 1816, in Ohio, with such success that a regular mission was established three years later, and the work was extended to the Delawares, Potawatomis, Shawnees, Kickapoos and other tribes which later were moved west. But the great pioneer of Methodist Indian missions was Jason Lee, who, in 1834, crossed the Rockies with a trading expedition and established himself at Fort Vancouver, Washington, on the Columbia River opposite the mouth of the Willamette.³

The great Baptist missionary of the early days, after Roger Williams, was the Rev. Isaac McCoy, who began work in 1818 among the Wea, in Indiana. The establishment of most of the missions among the tribes which were later moved to north-eastern Indian Territory was due to the work of this devoted man, and his name is held in great reverence among the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those who first heard of Christianity through his teachings.

The Episcopalians began their work in the interior in 1830, although the history of the early settlers along the Atlantic shores relates many incidents of the missionary zeal of their clergy. Pocahontas and her tribesmen in the South, the Iroquois in New York, the Oneidas who were moved to Wisconsin in 1823 under the leadership of the Rev. Eleazar Williams, the Arapahos and the Shoshonis of Wyoming, the Chippewas of Minnesota and largest of all tribes, the Dakotas, have been ministered to by the Episcopal Church, not only through missions established for them alone, but "wherever the Church went and found Indians some effort was made to reach them with the message of faith."

THE BIG PARISH

Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple was the great apostle to the Chippewas in Minnesota, and in 1873 Bishop William

³ See Ch. XIV, § II.

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Hobart Hare was sent to Dakota Territory among the Sioux. With a parish of 80,000 square miles he saw immediately that two points must be emphasized: first, the education of the children, and secondly, the raising up of a native ministry. The thirty-seven years he spent among this people proved the wisdom of his plan, for no church has developed so large a native ministry upon which the ultimate success of all Indian missions must depend.

The interest of some of the churches of Europe in the spiritual welfare of the aborigines did not cease with the sending of the Moravian missionaries to the Atlantic coast. In 1847 the Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society of Dresden began work among the Chippewas in lower Michigan, and other branches of the Lutheran church have continued the work, especially in Wisconsin and Arizona.

In 1880 the Mennonites opened their mission among the Arapahos in western Oklahoma, and extended their work among the Cheyennes in western Oklahoma and Montana. Few missionaries of recent times have acquired an Indian language as have those of the Mennonites, who have also learned the language of the Hopis of Arizona. The Hopi mission of the Mennonites, established in 1893, is shared with the Baptists, who began their first work among the Pueblo Indians in the Southwest in 1854, at Laguna. This work was later given over to the Presbyterians, who established their missions in 1876, and extended their work to Jemez and Zuni.

The Reformed Church of America (commonly called Dutch Reformed) and the Christian Reformed Church have missions in Nebraska and Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona, while still another branch known as the Reformed in the United States has a mission among the Wisconsin Winnebagos.

To the Northwest the American Board followed the early traders and was the forerunner of the pioneer settlers. Marcus Whitman, H. H. Spalding, the Eells and others are names around which the history of the Northwest is woven, both because of their devoted service to the Indians and because of the great part they played in helping to settle and to claim the Northwest country for the United States. Much of the

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missionary work which they inaugurated is now carried on by the Presbyterians, and a small section of it by the Methodists. Unfortunately the field has not been covered sufficiently to prevent the Indians from trying to invent a religion, Indian "Shakerism," made up of what they have heard from different sects and peoples, with the addition of such remains of their heathen practices as they can remember.⁴

The early history of California is inseparably linked with the names of the Roman Catholic missionary, Father Junipero Serra, and his devoted followers, who established a chain of twenty-one prosperous missions which changed the life of the people and flourished until the troubles that led to the war with Mexico. The influence of these missions is still seen, and the industry and devotion of the Mission Indians are largely due to their early teachings. To-day, the Moravians are the only Protestant body at work among these Mission bands, while many other denominations are at work among the tribes of the non-reservation groups.

THE MODERN PERIOD

Perhaps no harsher criticism has been made of the Christian Church than that caused by the rivalry among denominations. One can only bow in shame at the thought of what might have been the result to this country if a united church had offered to the Indians the simple message of Christianity in a way which would have reached into their every-day lives. The early missionaries, with their educational, agricultural and home-making gospel, laid the foundations deep and strong for a Christian civilization. War, greed for land, and human jealousies broke up plan after plan, and mission after mission, until confusion reigned.

At last the cry arose, "It is better to educate than to fight; it is better to Christianize than to kill!" With President Grant a new era was inaugurated.⁵ As a preliminary step in his "Peace Policy" in 1869, he placed "the superintendency

⁴ See Ch. XIV, § III.

⁵ See page 33.

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of Nebraska, and that for Kansas and the Indian Territory, under the care of the Society of Friends." He further decided to invite the coöperation of other religious bodies besides the Quakers to take charge of these reservations, and to nominate such persons as they chose as agents, in the hope of avoiding the probable consequence of the appointment of political parasites to such positions.⁶ This invitation was accepted by the churches and the plan was followed for ten or twelve years, although it failed to accomplish all that had been hoped from it. Sectarian opposition arose in various places, and in 1881 a ruling of the Secretary of the Interior permitted ministers of any denomination to engage in mission work at will on the various reservations, "except where the presence of rival religious organizations would manifestly be perilous to peace and good order." In 1883 the Indian Commissioner interpreted this ruling as permitting any religious society to engage in mission work upon any reservation, "provided they did not undertake to interfere with agency matters."

THE ONE AND THE MANY

That the Indian's understanding of denominational differences was even less than that of the ordinary layman is evident from the names given to the various denominations. The Friends continue to be "friends," but the Baptists are "put under the water," the Methodists, "shouters," the Roman Catholics are "crosses himself" or "drags his coat," the Episcopalians are "white coats" or "long skirts," the Congregationalists and Presbyterians are "short coats," and in some fields of the early American Board work, the missionary is still referred to as "board on his shoulders." Certainly these are not titles which appeal to the reverence and dignity of the Indian, any more than does the name of "chicken pulling" convey to the Navajo the real meaning of our Fourth of July.

Nevertheless, in spite of mistakes and difficulties, it is interesting to find that no less an authority than James Mooney,

⁶ "Handbook of the Church's Mission to the Indians," page 40.

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until his recent death connected with the Smithsonian Institute, who was never considered to be a great friend of missionary work, pays this tribute:

In the four centuries of American history there is no more inspiring chapter of heroism, self-sacrifice, and devotion to high ideals than that offered by the Indian missions. Some of the missionaries were of noble blood and had renounced titles and estates to engage in the work; most of them were of finished scholarship and refined habit, and nearly all were of such exceptional ability as to have commanded attention in any community and to have possessed themselves of wealth and reputation, had they so chosen; yet they deliberately faced poverty and sufferings, exile and oblivion, ingratitude, torture, and death itself in the hope that some portion of a darkened world might be made better through their effort.⁷

"THE JESUS ROAD"

Thus the story of Indian Missions proves the success not of physical force, but of the powerful force of love expressed day by day as the missionaries lived with the Indian people. Seizing upon the Indian's fundamental conviction that there existed unknown powers before whom he bowed in reverence, the missionaries guided him into a monotheism in which the unknown became knowable in God, the Father. The "Jesus Road" became plain. Christian churches were organized.

Through medical missionary work the power of the old medicine-man was undermined, confidence in the white man's medicine grew, and better sanitary conditions prevailed in the homes. In the old Indian thinking, as has been seen, ethics was divorced from religion. To-day the moral standards of the Indians are duplicating the standards of Christian homes, and the Indian is becoming a real factor in Christian community life.

In 1908 a still brighter day dawned for Indian missions with the organization of the Home Missions Council and its Indian Committee, joined later by the sister organization

⁷ Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, page 908.

A REPRESENTATIVE LEADER
OF HER RACE

Miss Ruth Muskrat, the Cherokee
girl who represented the American
Indian Students at the World's Stu-
dent Christian Federation Meeting in
Peking, China.



AND PERHAPS A FUTURE
LEADER



THE OLD TYPE

A Pioneer Indian Church



IN MEMORY OF "A BROTHER TO THE SIOUX"

Shank-ton-wan Presbyterian Church, Yankton Reservation, South Dakota, which was built entirely by funds raised by the Indians themselves as a memorial to the veteran missionary, John P. Williamson.



BAPTIST CHURCH, RAINY MOUNTAIN, OKLA.

Dedicated in 1921. The entire cost of the building, with the exception of \$500 contributed by the American Baptist Home Mission Society, was borne by the Indians.



INDIAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Church of the Good Shepherd, Fort Hall, Idaho.



CAMPS OF THE Y. M. C. A. AND Y. W. C. A.

These two organizations are doing a valuable work in providing Indian youth with the opportunity for healthy recreational activities.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

known as the Council of Women for Home Missions. This joint committee presently took up the question of the allocation of unreached Indian tribes, and the overlapping of missions on certain reservations. The latter condition had come about very largely through the moving of tribes and the locating of various bands and their missionaries as near neighbors, whereas formerly they had been distantly separated one from the other. A few missions had been established in fields of other churches, sometimes at the request of Indians who through family or church quarrels had broken away from a church of long standing on their reservation. The ironical part of this situation was that one might sometimes find, perhaps within a few hours' ride, a tribe among whom there was no missionary work of any kind.

Plans are now going forward for changes, the carrying out of which will require wise insight and unselfish devotion to the Church as above all denominational differences, in order that the Indians may be brought to see that such differences are but secondary. To be willing to withdraw from a field and let others reap the fruits of the work of many years calls for real Christian humility and self-abnegation. The great question now before the church boards and missionaries is: "Have we the conviction and the courage and the faith to undertake this?"

WORK FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

One great field of united interdenominational effort is that of the Government Indian schools where sometimes young people from as many as seventy tribes have been gathered together, representing denominationally the agencies at work in their own homes. Denominational differences and teachings have always been objectionable to the officials of these schools, while simple Christian teachings, applicable to everyday life, have been cordially welcomed. Proof of this is evident in the cordiality of the Government officials to the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, which have offered to the young people an opportunity of self-expression

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and work, of friendship with students of this and other nations, and a program of training in leadership which they are eager to put into practice as they return to their reservations.

Probably the greatest need on these reservations to-day is a program of church work which shall include these young people, and give to them a feeling of real responsibility for the spiritual welfare of their friends at home. This has always been most difficult because of the impropriety of a young person taking the lead in a community controlled by age and dignity. But the older people are beginning to understand, and are growing more willing to give the young people a chance in the general church work with an opportunity to have organizations of their own.

INDIAN LEADERS OF TO-MORROW

The religious work directors who are being placed in the larger Indian schools will increase the desire on the part of the young people to do more as they go home. For this they will need on the reservations the same sympathetic understanding and encouragement which they are receiving in the schools. Increasingly each year more young folks are prepared and eager for further education than there are opportunities for acquiring it. Places must be provided where they can help themselves in achieving their ambition. Meanwhile more of the older people must be helped to see the necessity for education. The day is fast passing when the Indian people will look entirely to white leadership in their churches, much less to an uneducated native leadership. The Indian must come completely into his own place in the community, school and church life. This ideal can be rightly accomplished only when the places of leadership are held by the Indian men and women who have come under the influence of Christianity and through it of American culture and civilization, and who know the only foundations upon which their new life can be established.

CHAPTER V

VICES AND FRAILTIES

The Indian has been referred to as "just another human being, fallen a victim of the White Man's greed on the Jerichoan highway of life." This need not be taken literally, but it is certain that he is peculiarly susceptible to many of the temptations that beset mortal man.

Some of his weaknesses are the result of certain racial traits carried to excess. The native generosity of the Indian leads often to indulgence, and he becomes a spendthrift. His characteristic hospitality is sometimes carried to extremes and he allows himself to be "eaten out of house and home" by ne'er-do-well relatives without a word of protest or efforts at eviction. The Indian, again, is gregarious in his habits, liking to be with others of his kind. Councils and frequent powwows characterize his old tribal life. In attempting to fit all Indians to a common mold, whether in segregating them on reservations or allotting them in isolated places, the Government neglected to take into account this racial trait. In the wake of the paternalistic policy inaugurated by the Government, as illustrated in the issuance of rations, and of the idleness and slothfulness which reservation life fostered, it is no wonder that the Indian, depressed and broken in spirit, became the victim of several forms of self-indulgence.

"FIRE WATER"

Perhaps the most subtle of these was intoxication brought on by the use of the white man's "fire water." This does not mean that the Indian knew nothing of alcoholic drinks before the coming of his Caucasian brother. Several tribes of the Southwest, notably the Apaches, have made native intoxicants such as *tiswin* and *tulapai* for many generations; but there is

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no record that the use of these concoctions was indulged in to marked excess. The drinking evil was stimulated by the introduction of the white man's whiskey into the reservations, and was seized upon by the Indian as one way to assuage his griefs and disappointments. While the Government has always had stringent laws against the introduction of liquor into the Indian country, only during the last fifteen years have vigorous efforts to suppress liquor been made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With the sending of W. E. ("Pussy-foot") Johnson into the reservations during the administration of Commissioner Leupp, a real campaign was inaugurated against all violators, which has meant the lessening of the evil of the liquor traffic in Indian communities. Since the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment, the situation has still further improved, although patent medicines containing a high percentage of alcohol and "home brew" are indulged in. The survey reports indicate, however, that the situation concerning the use of alcohol is a great deal more satisfactory to-day than at any time during the past fifty years.

GAMBLING

Gambling has been in some ways more difficult to deal with. The Indian is fond of games of chance, and most of the Indian games had some gambling features connected with them. Such games, however, were generally played for recreation or amusement and for small stakes which were usually confined to a limited circle of players among whom the losses would be negligible. Gambling took a more serious turn with the appearance of the mercenary motive, with the result that fifteen or twenty years ago it was very prevalent on the reservations among both men and women. Responsible Government officials and others still find it difficult to suppress this evil, owing to the fact that when driven off the reservation those addicted to the vice go to the nearby villages, and often carry on their games in secret. Moreover, since the gamblers are generally "game" and never complain of their losses, no formal protests are made. Despite all handicaps, however,

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some of the missionaries and social workers have made progress in combating this evil by substituting for it other forms of recreation.¹

MORALS AND MANNERS

In the realm of morals the Indian has experienced considerable difficulty in conforming to Christian standards. Considering that he was projected, with little preparation, into a complex civilization, the laws of whose social order were utterly unfamiliar to him, this lack of adaptability is not surprising. The Indian in his old environment had no home life, as we understand the term. The fireside was a natural gathering place, the tepee or wigwam an indispensable shelter, but there were none of the niceties or privacies which characterize the home of an Anglo-Saxon family, and the border-line between morality and decency is often hard to define.

With the application of the white man's laws concerning marriage and divorce, further adjustments in the Indian's social conceptions became necessary. Marriage by Indian custom was now frowned upon, and he must conform to legal procedure, obtaining a marriage license even though the old tribal marriage had preceded. When marital difficulties arose, the Indian, not understanding the sacredness of the marriage vow, resorted to separation and divorce. But the legal road to the divorce court proving long and tedious, the average Indian followed the line of least resistance, and promiscuity was the result. This raised a far more serious problem than polygamy had ever raised, for polygamy, though practiced by the Indians to some extent in the past, was generally confined to the headmen of the tribe or to those economically able to support more than one wife. Promiscuity, on the other hand, has left upon some of the Indian tribes the blight of venereal diseases which are now proving a menace to the very existence of those people. Happily, commercialized prostitution is practically unknown in the Indian country, although, as

¹ Gambling is permitted under the Nevada State Law. See Ch. XIII, § II.

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already indicated, the lessening of the sanctity of the marriage tie has been accompanied by a general looseness of morals. Governmental and Christian agencies have in many instances united in a program to foster higher social standards, and to pave the way for a fuller conception of what the standards of a Christian home should really mean to the Indian people.

DANCES: CEREMONIAL AND OTHERWISE

The Indian dances² were originally ceremonial in their nature and were largely connected with religious observances. The recreational element, however, was not lacking as a social feature of the dance and has always carried a compelling appeal among all the Indian tribes. Under modern conditions these dances have developed into some of the strongest influences for race demoralization and degeneracy. Several elements have contributed to bring about this condition. The whites first looked at the dances with curiosity. Then, realizing their commercial value, they quickly seized upon the spectacular features and introduced them into the Wild West shows, at county fairs, and other exhibitions. With these gatherings, whether held at county fairs, at rodeos, at Fourth of July celebrations, or at other times, the all-night camps, with their many temptations, are always in evidence. Sometimes the dances are arranged so that they will come simultaneously with the return of the students from the Government schools, and thus offer immediate and forceful temptations to these young people for excitement and "something different" from the routine and discipline of those institutions. Naturally, the Indian girls and women are the chief sufferers from these gatherings, and for this reason the Indian dances of the present time are to be condemned on moral grounds. During the past few years undesirable features have been introduced from the more objectionable of the white man's dances, for example, "the Indian two-step" and the "49 dance," which are degrading in the extreme.

² For the religious significance of the Indian dance, see under Zuni and Hopi, Ch. XII, §§ I and II.

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Again, the dancing habit often interferes with the Indian's industrial life. The inveterate dancer has no compunction about leaving his corn fields uncultivated in May or June to attend dances of either his own or neighboring tribes. The visiting back and forth of the various tribes is pernicious in that crops are neglected and stock allowed to suffer for want of care.

Returned students find in the Indian dance the greatest single impediment toward instituting a better social order among their people and doing something to elevate their race. Those who would scorn "going back to the blanket" in many cases are among the first to yield to the subtle temptations of the dance upon their return to the reservations. Recently a number of returned student organizations have been established with the purpose not only of fighting the dance evil but also of introducing substitutes which will offer recreation and wholesome amusements.³

THE DRUG MENACE

The greatest and most insidious evil remains to be considered. The use of peyote, or mescal, has become one of the most serious menaces to the progress of the Indian race in the

³ At a Survey Conference held at Sioux Falls, S. D., in April, 1922, the following resolution relative to the Indian dances was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The revival of Indian dances is injurious to the industry of the Indian people and impedes their progress in civilization, morality, and Christianity, and

"Whereas, The custom known as 'give-away' as now practiced by the Indians, in connection with their dances, and on other occasions, leads to the pauperization of our Indians; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we urge the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to stop those dances and give-aways; or if, under present conditions, this does not seem feasible to him, that the dance be confined to the older Indians, that the age limit be defined, and especially that the Department reissue its former instructions forbidding children of school age and returned students to participate in, or attend those old customs; and that the Indians be urged entirely to refrain from the give-away; be it further

"Resolved, That we recommend to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he arrange for a conference of Government superintendents among the Sioux, together with some of the missionary workers, to discuss this and kindred matters, and to consider what things may be introduced to interest Indians in better social and community matters."

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United States. The chemical constituents, the therapeutic value, the physiological and physical effects of the drug must be thoroughly understood if the Indian is to free himself from this vice.

The drug has been for many years most carefully and scientifically analyzed. Experiments have been made on both animal and human subjects. Scientific articles have appeared in medical journals. The Government has recently published an interesting pamphlet on peyote which leaves no doubt as to the attitude of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.⁴ The United States Dispensatory, which is the final authority on the chemical analysis of drugs, contains a full and most illuminating article. There are three names used: *Anhalonium*, *Lewinii*, *Peyote*, which appear to be of Mexican origin, and the term *mescal*, or "mescal button," which has often been used as the commercial designation. The United States Dispensatory says: "Under the name 'Peyote' are used in Mexico for narcotic purposes certain cacti whose tops have entered commerce under the name of mescal buttons." Every scientific description extant speaks of mescal and peyote as the same drug.

Peyote is a species of cactus grown in Northern Mexico. It is in the form of a prickly pear. The top, about one and one-half inches in diameter, very soft and green, is cut off and dried until it becomes brittle and hard. It has a bitter taste. It has been sold largely for commercial purposes by dealers in Laredo, Texas.

It is generally eaten in this dry, brittle state, or made into a tea. In late years it has also been powdered and put in capsule form. More recently it has been used in peyote balls, made by an unpleasing process by which one person chews up a number of peyote buttons, rolls them into balls while moist, and in that form passes them to others.

From time immemorial peyote has been used by certain tribes in Mexico for the purpose of producing intoxication at religious ceremonies. From there it spread to the Kiowas of the Rio Grande, the Zunis of Arizona and others. In the

⁴ "Peyote," by Dr. Robert L. Newberne. U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., 1922.

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early days it was always used for the purpose of producing intoxication at religious ceremonies. It is said that the Zunis selected a few of their number annually to submit themselves to intoxication, but never habitually subjected themselves. As early as 1720 Spanish authorities prohibited its use, and in the old Spanish archives appears a record of prosecution against an Indian for having drunk peyote. In late years it has gradually spread to an alarming extent among many of the tribes of the United States, beginning in the South and spreading to the northern tribes as far as the Dakotas, Minnesota and Wisconsin. Thousands of Indians are now peyote users.

THE VERDICT OF SCIENCE

Chemical analyses have been made by the Pharmaceutical Institute of Leipzig, Germany, by Drs. Prentice and Morgan of Washington, Dr. Mitchell of Philadelphia, Dr. Wiley of the Agricultural Department of Washington, Dr. Havelock Ellis, and many other prominent men whose names are given in the U. S. Dispensatory. The analysis shows that peyote contains a number of alkaloids, and that these alkaloids are "powerful agents ranking in strength with some of our potent drugs." Anhalonine produces tremor followed by convulsions, rapid breathing and inability to move. Mescaline, another ingredient, dilates the pupils, and also produces convulsions, stiffening of extremities, rapid breathing, and perhaps death. The third alkaloid produces restlessness, very rapid breathing, twitchings, convulsions. The chemists also state that the physiological effects of the whole bean resemble those of such powerful drugs as *Cannibis Indica*, strychnine and morphine.

The use of four or five mescal buttons "produces a peculiar cerebral excitement attended with an extraordinary visual disturbance." There is uncertainty of gait, like that caused by alcohol, wakefulness, and over-estimation of time; minutes become hours; distances become accentuated; there is a sense of dual existence. The drug also produces visual hallucina-

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tions and affects the hearing. The habitué enjoys "a regular kaleidoscopic play of most wonderful colors and an incessant flow of visions of infinite beauty, grandeur and variety." The effect upon the hearing is to make each note produced on the piano a center of melody which seems to be surrounded by a halo of color pulsating to the rhythm of the music. The permanent effects of the drug are a weakening of the power of resistance and particularly of the heart action. Peyote users require at least twice the ordinary dose of stimulants, and frequently in hospitals the most powerful stimulants produce no results. In one United States agency the records show that peyote is responsible for 100 per cent. of the recent cases of insanity. The dullness of children of peyote users, entering school in the fall, is very apparent. After the drug has been eliminated from their systems they gradually become more normal, but according to many teachers, are always lacking in dependability.

"NOTHING BUT AN EVIL"

Many Indian tribes have for a long time lived under the sad illusion that peyote is a panacea for all the ills of the body and soul. It is worthy of note that some of the leading drug manufacturing firms of the country, the Parke-Davis and Merck Companies, thinking that this powerful drug might have some value as a remedial agent, used it in certain compounds for neurasthenia and hysteria, and in certain neuralgic and rheumatic affections. The practice has, however, been abandoned. Dr. Francis, the chief chemist of the Parke-Davis Company, says: "It is absolutely a dead issue so far as doctors and pharmacists are concerned." Dr. Harvey W. Wiley says: "It is an evil and nothing but an evil," and after a scientific indictment of peyote before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs he concluded with this reference to the use of peyote in Indian religious exercises: "So far as building up a peyote church is concerned, if that is established, we will have an alcohol church and a cocaine church and a tobacco church, and any other person who wants to use a drug and

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escape legal penalties for doing so can call it a religious rite. It is a drug addiction, pure and simple." Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, in speaking after careful experimentation, about the injurious results that follow the habitual use of the drug, said: "I predict a perilous reign of the mescal habit when this agent becomes obtainable. The temptation to call again the enchanting magic will be too much for some men to resist after they have once set foot in this land of fairy colors, where there seems so much to charm and so little to excite horror or disgust." Dr. Havelock Ellis says: "It has every claim to rank with hasheesh and other famous drugs which have produced for men the joy of an artificial paradise." Dr. L. Lewis, of the University of Berlin, says: "It is an intensely poisonous substance."

THE CULT OF DEATH

It is not strange to find that a drug producing such extraordinary psychical pleasures is eagerly sought and its use defended. Peyote is to-day playing havoc in the ranks of the most typical, virile and promising of Indian youth, some of whom have just come home from the Government schools, and these have become the chief promoters of the new-found cult. To-day there is a new, semi-religious movement among thousands of Indians which exalts peyote into a fetish to be worshiped as something extraordinary and supernatural. Meetings are generally held every Saturday night, and last all night long. The drug is passed in dry form, or as a tea, and frequently now in the unsavory little balls already described. The small gourd rattle, together with the small drum, furnish the music. Gradually, after midnight, many present become intoxicated, enjoying the incessant and wonderful visions and music. Toward morning the company is generally in a stupor. The next day (sometimes days) is spent in sleep and lounging about or lying promiscuously on the floors to recover from the effects of the drug.

An unceasing fighter against peyote was the late Rev. Walter C. Roe, whose service as a missionary among the Indians

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compels admiration and attention. Summing up the peyote cult Dr. Roe said:

1. It is a drug habit producing pleasurable excitation of the imagination, ordinarily without immediate injurious effects.
2. It is a religion which claims to be the Indian form of Christianity and therefore makes a strong appeal to the racial instinct.
3. It is generally organized and promulgated by young educated Indians, who thus find that pathway to ambitious prominence which is denied them under the old-time régime.

The drug is also used by many during the week and is used in every form of sickness and disease by young and old, being prescribed for the new-born babe as well as for the strong. The Indian ignorantly takes the "supernatural" remedy and thinks he is relieved from pain and will soon get well. He has also been taught that peyote is a cure for the liquor habit. It is true that some drunkards have eaten it and have stopped drinking liquor, but peyote is merely a more dangerous and potent substitute. Many use both, and many mescal eaters are also the greatest drunkards among the Indians. It has been well said that "the alcoholic subject may, by careful treatment, escape physical and mental weakness, but the mescal fiend travels to absolute incompetency."

The opinion of an experienced missionary, the Rev. Henry Vruwink, is quoted in the Government Bulletin (Peyote: *ibid.*) in part as follows:

But fear, habit, and lust for pleasure, profit and power do not account for every case. There is the ever-present factor of ignorance. Few peyote eaters realize what a dangerous drug they are dealing with, and many think that it is a harmless and good medicine, not appreciating the fact that every time peyote kills a pain it also weakens the heart action and shortens life.

There are others who may eat peyote believing that it is a cure for drunkenness, not knowing that when the drug takes away the desire for whiskey it is only because the subject is saturated with a drug which is much worse than whiskey in its ultimate effects on the body and mind; yes, and not even dreaming that an habitual peyote user is a drunkard just as much as an habitual user of whiskey. The ignorant Indian may and does put peyote in the place of the Bible; in the place of the Gospel; in the place of the Holy Spirit.

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The peyote habit is bound to be one of the greatest hindrances to the industrial progress of the Indian. If this habit continues and increases, our industrial hopes for those Indians among whom it is used must vanish. Not only does it ruin the physical but it also ruins the intellectual development. Peyote destroys the power of concentration, logical thinking, strength of will and balanced judgment. It is fruitful of false notions in the minds of its users, and gives them a wrong conception of life. Superintendents, teachers and matrons of the Government schools, agency physicians and mission workers are all practically unanimous in their verdict concerning the mental depression, stupidity and destroyed aspirations peculiar to its victims.

FALSE GODS

Perhaps the most injurious of all the effects of peyote is found in connection with its extensive use in religious ceremonies. In many tribes it is now spoken of as the Holy Spirit, the "Comforter" that Jesus sent. It is believed that "this mescal guides us into all truth," that it causes the users to see their sins and makes their hearts feel kind toward God and man. Peyote eaters say: "It tells us how to be saved. Peyote prays for us when we are sick, and forgives our sins. Peyote is the Way, the Truth and the Life of every Indian who eats it." The question is, therefore, one essentially moral and religious. This is a false worship carried on under the guise of Christian teachings. It is utterly destructive of morals, health and fellowship in the Christian Church and in the nation.

For the last ten years or more, steps have been taken to prohibit the importation of this drug, but with no definite results up to the present time.⁵ Bills have been introduced in Congress again and again but have always been defeated by some Congressman who tried to please his Indian constituents at home and cared more for their votes than to outlaw

⁵ Kansas, Colorado, Utah, South Dakota and Nevada have State laws against the importation of peyote.

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and prohibit a great evil. The agitation against peyote, carried on by such fearless missionaries as the late Dr. Roe and Mr. Vruwink, has enlisted all Christian agencies against the drug. All the mission boards of the Protestant Church and the Catholic Indian Bureau, the Indian Rights Association, the Anti-Saloon League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, many other philanthropic organizations, and the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior, all, with one accord, realizing the terrible menace, have pronounced their verdict against it. How long will the Christian citizenship of this country, now giving its money to maintain schools and churches to emancipate and Christianize the Indian, permit this menace to continue? It calls for prompt, united and determined action.⁶

⁶ For further study of this subject the reader is referred to the excellent Government Bulletin on Peyote, quoted above and issued free on request by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER VI

INDIAN LEADERSHIP, PAST AND PRESENT

Indian history is replete with examples of leadership and organization in arts and crafts, civil and military, domestic and agricultural, political, social and religious. Perhaps no primitive race can be found in history with more definitely organized social and religious life. We find the priest with his function as medicine man for the religious needs carefully selected and isolated by a ritual that dignified his leadership and authority. We continually find in the ruck of Indian society certain warriors or hunters regarded with respect for some special kind of strategy or prowess: the young men are exhorted to follow in their footsteps, to emulate their deeds; and we find the young men winning to such a status through a system of arduous trials and tests, or finally consecrated to religious purposes by a definite ritual. Lastly, the chief did not succeed to his titular leadership wholly by birth; he had to qualify after a rigorous training, and when he exercised his leadership we find that he was not omnipotent or omniscient; the medicine man, or priest, and the council were adequate and effective checks upon his leadership; nor did he adopt any policy without availing himself of this tribal consultation.¹

¹ "The original Indian warfare was founded upon the principle of manly rivalry in patriotism, bravery, and self-sacrifice. The willingness to risk life for the welfare or honor of the people was the highest test of character."—From "The Indian To-day," by Charles A. Eastman, Page 7.

"There were grades and ranks among warriors each having its peculiar insignia. All rank was gained by personal achievement, but before a man could count war honors, wear their appropriate insignia or assume the grade in rank to which they entitled him he had to be given the right to do so publicly and generally in connection with more or less elaborate religious ceremonies, conducted by societies or by tribal officials.

"As war honors were public tokens of a man's courage and ability, they were regarded as his credentials; therefore when a man was called to any position or service, either social or tribal custom required that before he entered in his duties he should give his public record by counting his honors in order to show his fitness to receive the distinctions offered him."

—From Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part 2, page 914.

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Early explorers as well as modern ethnologists attest the excellence of the cultures represented by such tribes and nations as the Muskhogean, the southern Algonquin people, the northwest coast tribes, the people of the Pueblos, the tribes of the middle and upper Mississippi, and the five nations of the Iroquois.

The Iroquois Confederacy had a stable government with a definite code of laws and rigorous stipulations. It provided opportunity for various types of leadership not only by men but by women also, and it had a system by which leaders were trained and afterward chosen by process of elimination. Many sociologists and students of history believe that the Iroquois system of government, and indeed its "civilization," was the highest to be found on the continent, and the best that could be devised to meet the special environment in which the people found themselves.

For the most part the social organization of the Indians was built upon the scheme of clans, sibs or heraldic families. Long periods of peace were accompanied by growth in population and a greater tendency to sedentary life. With these came village and town building and the erection of mounds, embankments and wonderful town plots, the remains of which we see to-day at such places as Marietta, Ohio. The Indians of North America were to some extent builders, and builders always possess a certain degree of civilization. Not being nearly as numerous as the Indians south of the Rio Grande, they never reached the point of congestion and therefore never built, or needed to build, great cities.

Most of the eastern Indians and many of the Mississippi valley were sedentary, with fixed villages and determined hunting grounds. They were extensive agriculturists, and many tribes, as the Hurons, drew nearly all their sustenance from the soil by cultivation. It was the Plains Indian who was the wanderer, the nomad. This was of necessity, since his food supply was the roaming herd of buffalo, and all peoples, everywhere, change their place of work or residence to obtain food and clothing.

The California Indians were mostly sedentary and vege-

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tarian. In the desert region of the Southwest there were the interesting Pueblos on the mesas and in the canyons. These people were potters and weavers and had developed a material culture all their own, building reservoirs and irrigating their garden lands.

When the North Americans met "The Long Knives," or whites, they first wondered, then in simplicity trusted and, according to their social and political traditions, offered and invited friendship. The European settlers were impressed with the dignity of the Indian; they learned his secrets of woodcraft; his domestic economy was adopted by the Puritans in their cultivation of what is now New England during those first lean years. In these early contacts the colonists were glad to find that the Indian leaders kept faith when that faith was pledged.

EARLIEST LEADERS

Early colonial history is full of evidences of friendly relations between the two races. Powhatan, head of the powerful Virginia confederation, whose rule extended over forty tribes from the James to the Potomac Rivers, exercised a leadership conspicuous for its wisdom, and for its coöperation with the whites. He gave his beautiful daughter Pocahontas in marriage to John Rolfe, thus uniting in a signal manner the interests of both races. But for this powerful leader, Powhatan, and another, Massasoit, Chief of the Wampanoags, the entire course of history on this continent might have been changed. The latter's friendship for the English for half a century and his influence in keeping the hostile Narragansetts from molesting them, unknown to himself and his people, gave the English the necessary time in which to prepare for that gigantic struggle for this continent which ultimately drove out the French and left the English in possession.² Massasoit, hav-

² Professor Turner points out (Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1893) that the presence of the Indians, in a shadowy frontier, exercised a beneficent check upon the whites, and determined the development of civilization in North America. If the Indians had not

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ing declared friendship and integrity of treaty to the Governor of Plymouth, scrupulously kept his obligations. He joined in the life of the whites by celebrating the first Thanksgiving with the Pilgrim Fathers in the autumn of 1621. This lusty, majestic Indian won the respect and love of both Indians and whites.

Before long a different type of Indian leader appears upon the scene. He has become a fighter, campaigning for his honor, and a martyr to the soil of his fathers. Misunderstandings were prolific between the ever-increasing white settlers and the once friendly Indians. In the transactions that had taken place between them involving landed property, to which a title in fee simple had been given, the white man had gone through the ceremony with all the formality and solemnity of the ancient English law, while the Indian only meant that the white brother should share the privilege of his hunting domain. As he continued his hunting over this ancestral domain to which he had, in his ignorance of English law, surrendered his rights, the irritation of the white neighbors flared into hostility and a formal declaration of war. That this misunderstanding was at the root of King Philip's war is clear in his bitter denunciation: "When you English first came to our country, my father, Massasoit, was a great man, and you white men were weak and poor. He gave you more land than I now possess. You will not believe the testimony of our brothers in your court, and every lying white man's tale against us is credited." In the conduct of this war Philip, like his father, was a chivalrous opponent. He spared Taunton, Massachusetts, because of his friendship for the Leonard family.

It is worth while recalling other names which have become so intimate a part of American life, literature and history. Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas, was a leader of remarkable vision. He leagued his tribe with the Ojibwas and Potawato-

existed the tide of immigration might have swept too swiftly over the great continent, and the "typical" American might have assumed a quite different character. Thus frontiers that began with Virginia and Massachusetts in due time expanded to California and Oregon.

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mis, and won the respect and the following of all the tribes from the Ohio River to the Mississippi. His plighted word was never broken nor his friendship taken lightly. During the French and Indian War he saved a French garrison. Logan, Chief of the Mingoes, a fine physical type of his race, resorted to force only when Cresap ambushed and killed a canoe-load of Indians, all of whom were his relatives. There is pathos as well as reluctance in his declaration of war: "There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn his heels to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

We pass from Cornstalk, the great orator, to Red Jacket, the Seneca Chief. He was like a lofty pine in the forest. Red Jacket's "untutored mind" inspired a speech on religion that is one of the best of the recorded Indian orations. A French nobleman said of him: "He is a remarkable man. Had he been white, he would have had one of the greatest reputations of the ages." Little Turtle, the Miami, proved himself a match for the best European leaders, a master of strategy, courageous, eloquent and of great composure. George Washington, then President, remarked to General Arthur St. Clair: "The Indians have a leader of great bravery in Little Turtle, and have proved that they can fight with great strength." Tecumseh, a Shawnee warrior, called by his people "the Shooting Star," brought about a confederation among the Indians and taxed all the resources of General Harrison. He died fighting at the head of his people.

Black Hawk, a chief of the Sac and Fox Indians, fought for love of country, particularly for what is now the State of Illinois. In this righteous cause he won to himself the allegiance of the Winnebagos. Speaking on the day of his defeat he said: "The sun rose dim on us in the morning and at night it sank in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. My sun is setting and will rise no more."

Chief Joseph, of the Nez Percés, will always stand out as one of the red man's greatest leaders. He was a man of remarkable physique and of fine mental endowment. There is no sadder nor more poignant story than that of the way

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Chief Joseph was harried in his defeat. It is generally conceded by military critics that he made one of the most masterful retreats in history. Encumbered as he was with the women, children and aged, he repeatedly defeated his pursuers until outnumbered by sudden reënforcements. Like a hunted beast, Chief Joseph cried out: "Let me be a free man, free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to talk and free to think and act for myself, and I will obey every law and submit to the penalty." He was a patriot, a man of honor, and a martyr to the soil of his fathers.

A FEW OF MANY WARRIORS

Other well-known warriors can be mentioned only briefly. Thayendanegea, or Joseph Brant, of the Mohawks, was a famous officer in the British army. Samoset greeted the Pilgrims with the words "Welcome, Englishmen," introduced them to Massasoit and with Unongoit signed the first deed made between the Indians and the English. Shekillamy was a great diplomat of the New York tribes, a friend of Count Zinzendorf, from whose lips he heard the Gospel. He was largely responsible for the establishment of a Moravian Mission "in the greatest stronghold of paganism," where David Zeisberger, under Shekillamy's instruction, began the preparation of an Onondaga dictionary. Farmer's Brother, a Seneca chief, a strong advocate of peace, at the age of eighty took an active part in the war of 1812 on the American side and was buried with military honors by the 5th Regiment of the United States infantry.

In the South, Osceola was the famous youthful leader of the Seminoles. He was seized while holding a conference under flag of truce, and died broken-hearted at Fort Moultrie prison in Florida. John Ross, although only one-eighth Cherokee, was the great leader of that people throughout the period of readjustment.

The list of famous Indians west of the Mississippi covers

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too many tribes and includes too many names for special mention of all those who should be in any list. Among them occur such names as Red Cloud, Gall, Sitting Bull, American Horse, Roman Nose, Winnenucca, Geronimo, Manuelito, Captain Jack and many others familiar in history. The accounts of the struggles of these men in behalf of their people can be read in various volumes listed in the bibliography in the back of this book.

LEADERS IN THE ARTS OF PEACE

Even Christian leaders were found among the Indians at an early date. The following concerning one Hiacoomes, an Indian pastor, occurs in one of Mayhew's letters of 1650: "I must needs give him this testimony after some years' experience, that he is a man of sober spirit and good conversation, and as he hath, as I hope, received the Lord Jesus Christ in truth, so also I look upon him to be faithful, diligent, and constant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own soul and his neighbor's with him." Hiacoomes led his people from savagery into the sane, sensible and useful life after the manner of the Gospel.

Mioksoo, of Martha's Vineyard, a sachem of his people, was a faithful Christian. He became a magistrate and was accounted a wise and good man by both the English and the Indians. The same was true of Tawanquatuck, Christian magistrate, John Tackanash, Pastor Mathew, layworker and universally beloved, and Samuel Coomes, son of Hiacoomes, the liberal Christian who gave freely to every one in need, yet was never in want because of his great industry. Sunmandawat, a Wyandotte of the Bear Clan, as chief of his tribe, contributed powerfully to the defense and up-building of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Of the great Dakota Nation, Ehnamani (Walks Among His People), was the first Christian minister and his sons and grandchildren (the Fraziers), are continuing his work.

Those who waver in their faith regarding the Indian, should not fail to read the life of Samson Occom, Mohegan, descend-

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ant of the great Uncas. At school a most unpromising lad, he became, by sheer application, a school teacher, a judge, and for twelve years one of the most celebrated of Presbyterian preachers among the Montauk and Shinnecock tribes. This Indian could read and write Greek, Latin, Hebrew and French. Dr. Samuel Buell said of him: "He is an ornament to the Christian religion and the glory of the Indian Nation." Samson Occom and David Fowler became the first Indian missionaries to the Oneidas. In 1766 Occom and the Rev. Nathaniel Whittaker, of Norwich, visited Great Britain, and there Occom preached to immense audiences. He obtained £12,000, the largest contribution ever sent from the mother country to the colonies, for the founding of an institution of learning for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen Indians. This institution later became Dartmouth College, named after the Earl of Dartmouth, who had introduced Occom to King George.

Sequoyah is properly ranked as an Indian leader, since his upbringing was purely Indian, although his father was generally believed to be a German trader and his mother was only part Cherokee. By inventing the Cherokee alphabet he gave to his people that which enabled them to advance educationally more rapidly than did any other tribe. Books, a newspaper and parts of the Bible were soon in common use with the whole tribe and it is said that at the time of their removal to Oklahoma every grown man could read and write in his own language.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

These men did not become forces in the life of their day merely by accident. They were driven by some hidden energy, some inner ambition, some lofty idealism. In the lives of these primitive Indians, it is easy to discover the forces of racial pride, parental love, adventure, honor, sportsmanship, and loyalty to leader or tribe actuating them. In this new day, not the human heart, but environment and standards have vastly changed. With a transplanted civilization the com-

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plex social organism has grown too quickly for the Indian. The new civilization has obliterated the field of his aboriginal callings, and the logic of the situation demands a new training for differentiated vocational activity. What the Indian took centuries to perfect, he is forced to relinquish and almost overnight he must reorient himself. Where physical courage and endurance of hardship once satisfied, now a different moral standard, and sometimes a knowledge of applied science, are the indispensable means to success and leadership.

The changing order of things has demanded a new type of leader for the Indian people. He is not as conspicuous as the leader of the old day, for he is no longer dressed in buckskin and feathers. His task is that of impressing his people with the need of education, thrift, production and the Christian virtues. He points out that for his people to survive the rising tide they must adjust themselves to the new order of things. He appreciates better than the older Indian the picturesque side of the old days, but he points out that the old days have gone, that to-day is here and soon to-morrow!

In enumerating a few such leaders, many omissions will of necessity be made, for they are in every tribe and in every church throughout the Indian domain. Only those can be mentioned who have achieved more than local recognition.

The first Indian physicians of national reputation were Dr. Susan LeFlesche Picotte, who graduated from the Woman's College in Philadelphia in the 'eighties and for years was at the head of the Presbyterian Hospital for her own tribe, the Omahas, and Dr. Charles A. Eastman, who at one time practiced among his people, the Sioux, but is now a well-known lecturer and author. Dr. Carlos Montezuma,³ an Apache, who practiced medicine in Chicago, was an eminent specialist in diseases of the stomach. Dr. George Frazier, of Santee, Neb., is devoting his full time to his people.

The list of those who have acquired fame as members of Congress or in positions of responsibility in Indian affairs is long. The names most frequently cited are: Senators Robert L. Owen and Charles Curtis; Congressmen Charles D. Car-

³ Dr. Montezuma died in February, 1923.

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ter and William M. Hastings; in the Indian Service, Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin, Messrs. Gabe E. Parker, Frank E. Brandon, Charles E. Dagenett, Peter Paquette and Victor Locke, Jr.

William M. Kershaw, a Menominee, and Denison Wheelock, Oneida, are prominent in the list of lawyers, while among archæologists, writers and artists are found such names as Arthur C. Parker, State Archæologist of New York; Angel de Cora (Mrs. Deitz), an Indian artist whose death has meant a great loss; Mrs. R. T. Bonnin, Zitkala-Sa, an author, and Mr. Frank LeFlesche, archæologist and author. The point must be emphasized that while the business or professional life of many of the above keeps them more or less away from the Indian country their hearts are always with their people and they are giving much time in work for their welfare along many lines.

The list of educators and Christian ministers should include many more than space permits to be mentioned. Among them are men and women whose lives and work with their own people on isolated reservations and in lonely corners of the land are beyond any tribute that could be paid.

The recent death of the Rev. Frank Hall Wright, of the Choctaw tribe, has removed a great leader and evangelist, who belonged to the whole country and was equally welcome among Indians and white people. Almost equally well known are the Rev. James Hayes and his co-workers of the Nez Perces, whose diligent efforts extend to other tribes besides their own. Among church leaders of the Dakotas the Reverends John Eastman, Philip Deloria, William Holmes and Francis Frazier are widely known. The Rev. Sherman Coolidge, an Arapaho, now Canon of the Cathedral of Denver, has spent long years as a missionary to his people. For many years there have been influential native leaders in the Five Civilized Tribes, while among the Six Nations of the Iroquois the Rev. Louis Bruce, D.D.S., a St. Regis-Mohawk, is known as one of the most effective preachers in the Northern New York Conference. The Rev. Henry Roe Cloud, a Winnebago, has faithfully undertaken the task of pointing out to his

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people the higher goals in education. He is the founder and principal of the American Indian Institute at Wichita, Kansas.

The Rev. Philip Gordon, a Chippewa, is perhaps the most noted of the several Indians in the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church. He was educated both in this country and abroad and was ordained at Rome. He is now the priest in charge of an Indian congregation in Wisconsin, where his valuable work is much appreciated.

Among some of the leaders who have more recently finished their college work and are out among their people may be mentioned Miss Ella Deloria, Miss Susie Meek, David Owl, Ralph Walkingstick, Stephen Jones and Isaac Greyearth. Miss Ruth Muskrat, a Cherokee, an undergraduate at Kansas University, represented the American Indian Students at the conference of the World's Student Christian Federation in Peking, China, April, 1922, and is a member of the General Committee of that organization.

PAST AND FUTURE

An old Indian chief once summoned the four most likely young men in his tribe and sent them to a neighboring mountain with the promise of his chieftainship to the one who returned with the most appropriate offering. The first youth returned with some aspen leaves which grew near the foot of the mountain; the second brought him a pine bough which he found higher up; the third offered some beautiful moss which grew in a high secluded nook; the fourth returned empty-handed. "Oh, Chief," said the fourth youth, "I have brought you nothing in my hands, but I have seen the sun!"

Any race of people with this poetic vision directing their organized daily life, must in their historic past have possessed spiritual qualities of no mean order. The splendid past may well be an earnest of the future, and the white man, after a century of blunders and indifference, can aid his red brother in making the future, unlike the past though it must be, yet not unworthy of it. Education, sympathetic understanding, patience and fellowship—the last two, qualities that many In-

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dians showed to our ancestors—are the chief requisites. The Indian to-day is in reaction from the aggressive, materialistic struggle of modern life, but his young men and women are growing up in the midst of it and education is teaching them to play their part in the modern American scene.

PART TWO

PART TWO

CHAPTER VII

THE NORTHERN COLONIAL AREA

I: *Algonquin Indians of Maine*

In 1524 a Florentine traveler, Verrazano, paddled up the Penobscot river and returned with wonderful tales of a "great city" which he had found upon its banks and of a mighty chieftain, the "Lord of Norumbega"—euphonious and lordly name! Only a little less than a century later Champlain found that the "great city" had dwindled to a few tents, and to-day the descendants of the proud people ruled by the "Lord of Norumbega," numbering less than 900 all told, live on three islands in the Penobscot, and in two settlements at Point Pleasant and at Princeton Township, on the Passamaquoddy Bay.

A principal reason for the dwindling of the Abnaki Indians, as the French and English of Colonial days called those of the Algonquin tribes who were found in what is now the State of Maine, was the withdrawal of large numbers of them to Canada, under the inspiration of French priests, in face of English encroachment. The Penobscot, Passamaquoddy and Malecite, however, remained, and in 1749 the Penobscot, as the principal tribe, made peace with the English and, like the Gauls of Cæsar's day, accepted fixed boundaries.

At the present time the Penobscot Indians, 426 in number, possess all of the 149 islands in the river from the falls at Old Town as far north as Mattawamkeag. Their principal settlement is at Old Town, on Indian Island, while two smaller islands, Old Lemon and Lincoln, are also inhabited. The Passamaquoddy, who have been joined by the Malecite, numbering 471 in all, have their chief village at Point Pleasant

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and another settlement of about a hundred persons further north in Princeton Township.

The Abnaki Indians have the reputation of always having been economically independent. The Old Town Indians receive a very small annuity from the sale of some lands; the rest nothing. As there is little land no extensive farming is possible, but a little gardening and poultry-raising are carried on for home use. By far the largest industry is basket-making, in which men, women and children are highly skilled. At Old Town, the men also do some river driving and many find employment in the canoe factory. At Passamaquoddy fishing is the only other occupation. The Old Town Indians, perhaps because of their nearness to a town, are the more thrifty and progressive. Many of their homes resemble the usual two-story elongated Maine farmhouse and are similarly furnished, while at Passamaquoddy the houses are more of the type used by the fishermen along the shore.

The affairs of the Maine Indians are administered entirely by the State, which provides an agent for each group. Each tribe elects its own governor and council and sends a delegate to the legislature, who may take part in debate on Indian affairs but may not vote. All the land is held tribally, there being no individual allotments, and the absence of franchise prevents the Indians from taking their places in the affairs of the community.

By their white neighbors the Indians are generally regarded as good friends and there is little trace of race friction. "Old Indian ways" have disappeared almost entirely. The Passamaquoddy are often called upon to lend picturesqueness to State fairs and other celebrations; but on these occasions their costumes are reminiscent of the Camp Fire Girls; the war-bonnets are imported from the west, and of the dances it may be said that they are a good enough imitation of the real thing to satisfy sight-seers. The State marriage laws are observed, and divorce is practically unknown.

Health conditions among the Maine Indians are fairly good, not more than 5 per cent. being affected by tuberculosis. There are no hospitals, but a Sister nurse is stationed at the

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mission at Passamaquoddy. Physicians may be called in from nearby towns, the State paying the bills. A hospital and old folks' home was built at Old Town, but as neither sick nor aged could be induced to use it, it was turned into a community house and is supervised by the Sisters.

The two schools, one on Indian Island and one at Point Pleasant, with six grades, are under State auspices, the teachers being supplied by the Roman Catholic Church, but paid by the State. Some of the children attend district schools with their white neighbors. Many of the children at Old Town, after finishing the six grades, go on to public school, and some even to high school.

All of the Indians belong to the Roman Catholic Church, which has supervised their religious training since Colonial times. The usual program of the Roman Catholic Church is carried on by priests and Sisters of Mercy, and the Indians are very loyal to these friends of many years.

II: *Indians of Massachusetts*

At Gay Head, on the western end of Martha's Vineyard, is a settlement of 164 Indians who are probably the descendants of the Wampanoag, the tribe with which, under its chief Massasoit, the Pilgrim Fathers made a treaty of friendship soon after their landing at Plymouth. The treaty was ended by Massasoit's son, Philip, not without provocation, and the war well known to history ensued, but throughout the fighting the group of Indians at Martha's Vineyard remained faithful friends to the whites.

All told, the Indians in Massachusetts number 402. In addition to the 164 at Gay Head, there are eighty at Mashpee, in Barnstable County, eighteen in the city of New Bedford, and 140 scattered about, but largely in Plymouth County. The reservation at Mashpee was established in 1660 for the Christian Indians who were known as the South Sea Indians, and others joined the settlement. In Colonial days a trust fund was left to Harvard University for the promotion of the Gospel among these Indians, and the proceeds of this fund

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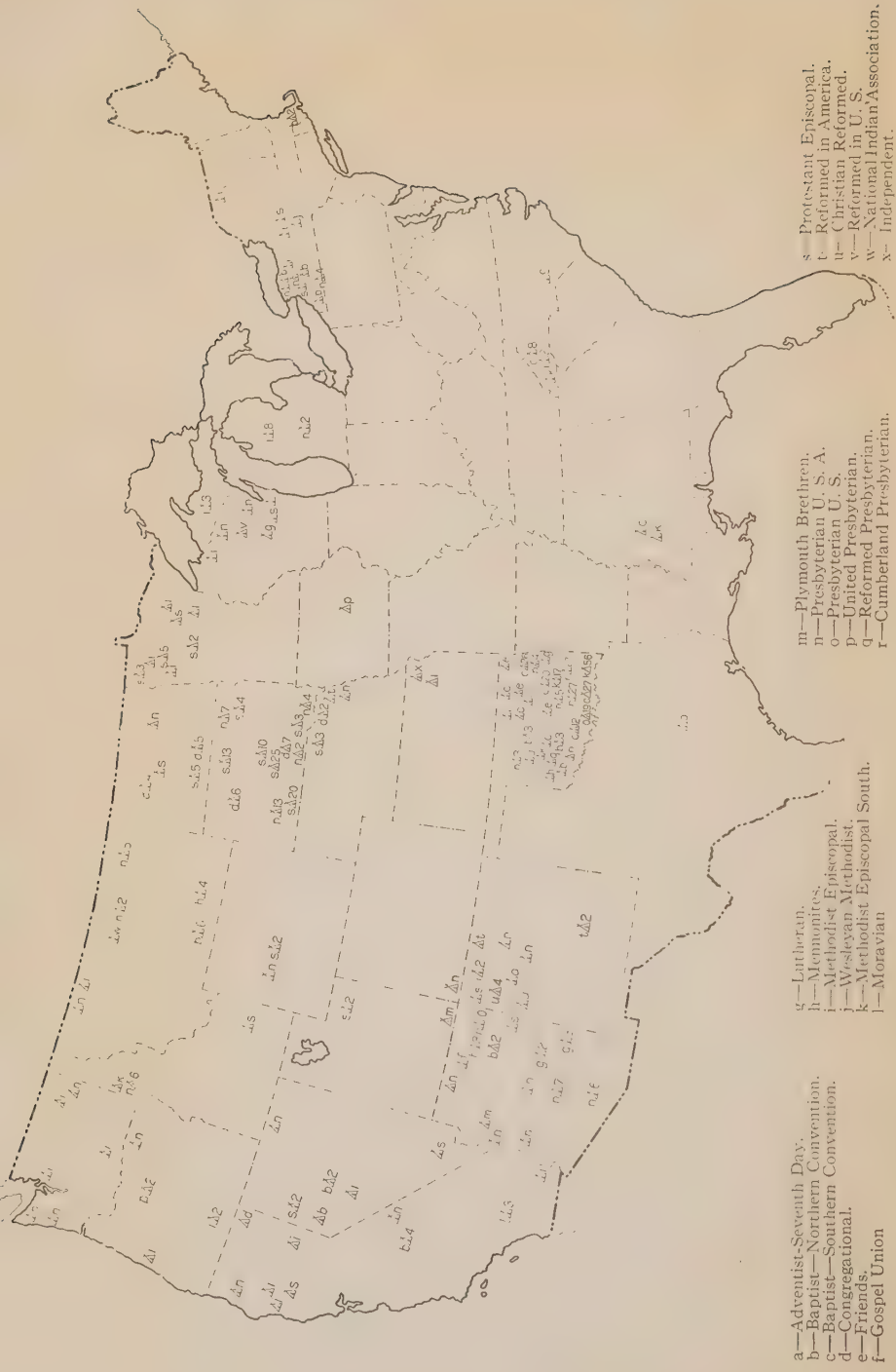
are now paid directly to the Baptist church, which is the only church in Mashpee.

Conditions among the Indians at Gay Head compare favorably with those among their white neighbors. The Indians live in neat, comfortable homes; moral conditions are reported to be good; the children attend the one public school in the village, and all but four of the total population, which includes a few whites, can read and write. The principal industry is fishing, but there is a little gardening and dairying for home use, and a few of the men hold Government positions, such as coast guards.

At Mashpee township, with an area of twenty-four square miles and a total population of 263, of which eighty are Indians, there is little distinction between Indians and whites. Indeed, intermarriage between them is fairly frequent. Government supervision is a thing of the past, and the people are all citizens. There are no separate schools, the Indian children attending the three public schools of the village. All speak, read and write English, and nothing remains of old Indian customs or dress. State marriage laws are in force, but moral conditions are far from perfect. Fish, oysters and cranberries provide the chief sources of income. There is a little vegetable gardening for home use. The town hall and the church are the centers of community activities.

Missionary work at Gay Head was started as early as 1693, and the present church building (Baptist) dates from 1869. The total church membership is twenty-eight. There is a morning service every Sunday, with an average attendance of thirty, and a mid-week service with an average attendance of thirty-five. Four Sunday school classes are conducted all the year round, with an enrollment of forty-five. A new pastor has recently taken charge, and constructive plans for an every-member canvass and better organized church activities are under way.

The church at Mashpee (Baptist) was organized in 1835. Church and parsonage are in good repair. The membership is fifty, of whom thirty-four are reported as active. Services are held every Sunday in morning, afternoon and evening, with



- a-Adventist-Seven Day.
- b-Baptist-Northern Convention.
- c-Baptist-Southern Convention.
- d-Congregational.
- e-Friends.
- f-Gospel Union
- g-Lutheran.
- h-Mennonites.
- i-Methodist Episcopal.
- j-Wesleyan Methodist.
- k-Methodist Episcopal South.
- l-Moravian
- m-Plymouth Brethren.
- n-Presbyterian U. S. A.
- o-Presbyterian U. S.
- p-United Presbyterian.
- q-Reformed Presbyterian.
- r-Cumberland Presbyterian.
- s-Protestant Episcopal.
- t-Reformed in America.
- u-Christian Reformed.
- v-Reformed in U. S.
- w-National Indian Association.
- x-Independent.

The numerals indicate the number of Mission Stations for the Reservation or Tribal Community.

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average attendances of twenty-two, twenty-one, and forty-two. The Sunday school has three classes, with an enrollment of thirty-five and an average attendance of twenty-five. There is a Ladies Aid society, which meets regularly. The total budget for the last fiscal year was \$976, of which \$650 came from the Harvard trust fund.

III: *Iroquois Indians of New York*

The remnants of the once great Iroquois Confederacy, which played so important a part in Colonial days as allies of the English first against the French and later against the revolting colonists, are settled now in seven reservations¹—six of them in New York State and the seventh just over the boundary line in Pennsylvania. To this day these Indians speak of themselves proudly as “the Six Nations,”² claiming still to be “nations within a nation,” according to the treaty of Canandaigua, of 1794, by which the United States agreed to permit them to retain their tribal property until such time as they were ready to sell or dispose of it to the people of the United States. The convenient pretext of “enforced choice,” the encroachments of white settlers, misgovernment by the tribal councils and consequent uprisings among the tribes, all contributed to hasten the alienation of their lands from the Six Nations and the final assumption by the Federal Government of the position of “guardian.” Even to-day the Senecas live under the shadow of a claim against them for \$200,000 by the Ogden Land Company, the legacy of an old claim by the State of Massachusetts to the ownership of territory which would include western New York.

In recompense for the part they played on the British side in the War of the Revolution, the greater part of the Iroquois Confederacy was settled on a reservation in Ontario. Those

¹ For the purposes of this survey, the term “reservation” is used to include territory originally set aside by the Government for one or more Indian tribes whether this area has been opened for settlement or not.

² The Five Nations comprised the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga and Seneca. They became the Six Nations after the admission of the Tuscarora in 1722.

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who were left behind in New York State constitute practically all of the Iroquois remaining in the United States, with the exception of some Oneidas on a reservation in Wisconsin. The remnants of the "Six Nations" comprise now a population of 6,053 and the total area of the seven reservations on which they live is 87,307 acres, about one-eighth the area of the small state of Rhode Island. Three reservations show a slight increase in population since 1910; two have remained stationary, and two have suffered a decrease due to the departure of families for economic reasons. The names of the reservations are: Allegany, Cattaraugus, Tuscarora, Tonawanda, Onondaga, St. Regis-Mohawk and Cornplanter.³

These reservations are small communities, mere dots on the expansive territory represented by the Empire State. The Allegany, Cattaraugus and St. Regis reservations are cut by gorges, creeks and rivers. The topography varies from "mostly level" on the Tuscarora to hilly upland on the Allegany reserve. Winding in and out over the reservations are 212 miles of roads, a few of them improved, but most of them the old type, dirt roads, impassable in winter for any vehicles except sleighs, when the snow lies. Railroads cross two of the reservations, and are near enough to the others to make them easily accessible. The Onondaga reservation is within two miles of the Syracuse trolley system, while bus service from Niagara Falls places the Tuscaroras within a stone's throw of tourist travel. The Indians of the St. Regis reservation travel by canoe on the St. Lawrence and St. Regis rivers. Within reach of the reservations are twenty-four postoffices and six rural routes.

The environment of the New York Indians, the close proximity of the reservations to large centers of population and to white neighbors, has had a considerable effect upon their mode of life. None of them now live exclusively by Indian pursuits. Many devote part of their time to basket-making, bead work and the manufacture of snow-shoes and Lacrosse sticks; but the chief occupations are farming, dairying and to some

³ For individual Reservation Summaries, see Appendix I, § I.

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extent poultry-raising. Considerable numbers find seasonal occupation in canneries, factories, shops and stores, while a few have gone into the professions as teachers, doctors, nurses, lawyers and ministers.

The land of the New York reservations has not been "allotted" in the technical sense used of other Indian reservations, but where the land is suitable for agriculture it may be leased, and thirty-four farmers have so leased their farms. Great encouragement is given to the Indian farmers by the extension division of Cornell University which provides teachers and farm demonstrators. Actual poverty is rare, being found on only two of the reservations and there affecting only 2 to 3 per cent. of the population, those affected being among the so-called non-progressive, pagan element.

Similarly, the white man's civilization has considerably modified the domestic life of the Indians. The tepee and the wigwam disappeared many years ago. In general the standard of housing of the rural white man is observed, though many Indians still live in log cabins or even shacks. Improved housing and sanitary conditions are reflected in the total absence of trachoma and in the confinement of tuberculosis to 10 per cent. of the population. Good work has been done by public health nurses. The prejudice of the pagan Indians against the "white man's doctoring," though still existent, is gradually yielding to the logic of observed benefits.

While the proximity of Christian homes has exercised a beneficial influence on the position of women, which has improved greatly in the course of the past twenty-five years, the Indian marriage laws still leave a good deal to be desired in the way of definition and uniformity. A large percentage of the marriages are still by Indian custom—on two reservations 80 per cent., on another 65 per cent., and on another 25 per cent. There is no provision for legal divorce, but separations are reported as being too frequent on four of the reservations. On the whole, however, there has been a move toward greater stability of the marriage tie during the last five years.

Except for social distinctions there is little evidence of race prejudice between Indians and whites. The Indians are sus-

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picious of the whites, and the whites regard the Indians as their inferiors. It is, perhaps, natural, since the Indians pay no taxes, that the whites should look upon them rather as a dead weight upon the community.

In general, the community spirit is fostered through temperance societies, musical organizations, and welfare agencies. Social and recreational facilities are provided by five Indian dance-halls, a voluntary athletic association on the St. Regis-Mohawk reservation, and one pool-room under Indian auspices. There are also any number of pool-rooms adjacent to the reservations where Indian boys are welcome, especially if they have money to spend, and the "movies" in nearby towns and villages present a perennial appeal. Indian games are played at tribal gatherings.

The Indian dances, held with varying frequency on four out of the seven reservations, are termed "religious" at two places where the main part in them is played by pagan Indians. There are six annual and ten social dances on the Onondaga reservation.

The general situation in regard to alcohol has improved since the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment, except on the St. Regis-Mohawk reservation, where conditions have become worse owing to the smuggling of liquor from Canada. Vivid and picturesque tales are told of the "rum-runners," against whom, however, a vigorous fight is being made by a small group of Christian Indians. Gambling is prevalent among the men on four reservations, and there appears to be no effective agency to combat this evil. Prostitution is a grave menace on one reservation, but on the others conditions in this respect are more encouraging.

Superstition, old-time customs, morals and "medicine" still have a considerable hold in the reservations, although education, in the broadest sense, is causing a gradual loosening of their influence. Those under the control of the old Indian religion number $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on one reservation, 75 per cent. on another, and 20 per cent. on two others. At Allegany, Cattaraugus, Tonawanda and Onondaga there are well organ-

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ized "Long Houses"—buildings used for social and religious ceremonies by the pagans.

Combating such reactionary influences are the students who have been away to Government, Mission or State schools and have returned to live on their reservations, and certain outstanding native Indian leaders. There are 380 such students, of whom 194 are men and 186 are women. Forty-four of these, thirty-two of them on one reservation, have returned to the old Indian ways of living, giving as their reason "I am an Indian; it is our way," or "Our folks are that way": but the majority have adjusted themselves to the white man's ideals of life, and these are the backbone of the community in which they live.

New York has the distinction of being the only state which has assumed entire responsibility for educating the Indians within its borders. Through thirty-three State schools (including one boarding and one mission boarding school) provision is made for primary education. The civilizing influence of these schools is seen in the relatively low percentage of illiteracy (nowhere higher than 5 per cent.). The schools stand, however, in urgent need of reorganization involving better equipment and buildings as well as a trained teaching staff.⁴ Public schools are also open to Indian children on payment of a tuition fee. A brief analysis of the two boarding schools is given herewith:

Thomas Indian School at Iroquois, Cattaraugus Reservation: A boarding school with a staff of 49 persons; enrollment 193,—100 girls, 93 boys. Carries 8 grades. Church affiliations shows the following preferences: Baptists, 27; Methodist Episcopal, 8; Presbyterian, 44; Episcopal, 2. The religious oversight of the pupils is satisfactory, with regular Sunday services and a Christian Endeavor of 40 members.

Friends Indian School at Tunesassa, Allegany Reservation: Organized 1816 and supported by the Friends Yearly Meeting

⁴ Since the survey was made a consolidated school has been opened at Hogsburg on the St. Regis-Mohawk Reservation which might well serve as an example to other reservations. See Appendix I, § I, St. Regis-Mohawk.

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of Philadelphia. Carries 8 grades, has 9 instructors; enrollment 56. Church relationships show Baptist 15, Presbyterian 18, unattached 14. Free tuition is offered. The school has a wholesome influence. The scope of its work could well be extended to include such forms of community service as Sunday schools for outlying districts in close coöperation with the Presbyterians.

Missionary effort among the New York Indians dates back for more than two centuries. The first missions were those of the French Catholics. These, however, were withdrawn to Canada with the expulsion of the French about 1755. There is a record of Episcopal work among the Iroquois at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and itinerant Protestant missionaries seem to have traveled through the region at various times during the first three-quarters of that century. Samuel Kirkland undertook a mission to the Six Nations in 1765, but it seems not to have been until the close of the century that a definite mission station was first established by Protestants. The establishment of this station on the Tuscarora reservation was due to the efforts of Samuel Kirkland. The New York Missionary Society began work among the Indians of the state in 1805. This work was continued by the American Board and was later (about 1870) turned over to the Presbyterians. The first organized church was the United Mission Presbyterian Church, on the Cattaraugus reservation, in 1827, and the last church to be organized was in 1905. At the present time there is only one Roman Catholic church, on the St. Regis-Mohawk reservation, located in Canada, which claims 1,000 adherents.

A number of the churches have had a notable history in their work among the Iroquois, and great names are associated with the missionary enterprise. The Indian's idea of God and Christianity has made marked headway. Citizenship, with all of its privileges and obligations, must come to the New York Indians if they are to achieve the best they are capable of, and the most progressive leaders among the Indians themselves fully realize this and believe that the Church has a place in educating and preparing their people to assume the duties of citizenship.

THE NORTHERN COLONIAL AREA

It is generally agreed that paganism must be banished from the New York Indian communities. With four reservations still in the grasp of superstitious rites and ceremonies and with at least two tribal councils largely controlled by this element, there is urgent need of the churches uniting their forces to grapple with the situation. Other factors which must be frankly faced in order to insure a forward-looking program of advance are: Social organizations and the development of a Christian community spirit; self-support; higher educational standards for the ministry; readjustment of parish lines and a possible consolidation of churches in over-lapping fields.⁵ A more detailed analysis of church organization follows:

Protestant Churches: Allegany: Baptist, 1; Presbyterian, 3. Cattaraugus: Presbyterian, 2; Methodist Episcopal, 1; Baptist, 1; Episcopal, 1. Onondaga: Episcopal, 1; Wesleyan Methodist, 1; Methodist Episcopal, 1. Tuscarora: Presbyterian, 1; Baptist, 1. Tonawanda: Baptist, 1; Methodist, 1; Presbyterian, 1. Cornplanter: Presbyterian, 1. St. Regis: Methodist Episcopal, 1. Total, 19—an average of one church to each 347 Indians. There are 3 abandoned churches.

Material Equipment: All congregations own a building. Total valuation, \$57,000; average valuation, \$2,805.

Finances: Four make use of budget systems; 18 contribute to missions and benevolences; 18 receive home mission aid. Total debt only \$590. Average receipts per fiscal year, \$680.41 per congregation; average expenditures, \$650.21; average per capita contributions, \$7.26.

Membership: Total on roll of 19 churches, 1,217, an average of 63 per congregation.

Services and Attendance: Fourteen hold one or more services

⁵ At the conference on Christian Work among New York Indians, October, 1921, the following action was taken: "In view of the findings based upon the American Indian Survey of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys it is recommended that a committee for each reservation of New York Indians where more than one denomination is serving be created, such committee to be composed of the responsible administrative officers of the several churches on the reservation and that these committees be authorized and directed to hold, where the situation seems to require, conferences in the several reservations, and by mutual agreement arrive at programs which seem in each case desirable for more efficient Christian work and closer coöperation of the Christian churches involved." Later a follow-up conference was held at Buffalo, March, 1922, when specific recommendations were made for each reservation.

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each month. For eleven churches reporting, the average attendance per congregation at morning service is 33. Seven report a mid-week prayer meeting. Four hold services exclusively in native tongue; others mixed.

Organizations: Eight report Sunday schools, largest having enrollment of 99. There are 3 men's and 3 women's organizations. Other organizations are: Three Epworth Leagues, 1 Christian Endeavor, 1 Praying Band and 5 temperance societies.

Missionaries and Native Pastors: Fourteen engaged in church work: 7 white, 3 native, 1 lay reader, 2 local preachers and 1 elder. These serve total of 24 points. Chief problems in church life: "Paganism"; "Church rivalry"; "To get Indians to understand Christianity"; "Need of spiritual and intellectual vision to hold Indians during present economic transition."

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOUTHERN STATES

I: Indians of North Carolina

EASTERN CHEROKEES

The Cherokee Indians of North Carolina have behind them probably a longer history of white civilization than any other tribe. Eight of their chiefs returned to England with Oglethorpe after his expedition of 1733. Two years later Wesleyan missionaries were made welcome by the tribe. Their first treaties with the white man were made with George III, and their earliest diplomatic relations with the United States came in 1785, when boundaries were established and 15,000 families settled on Cherokee lands by the treaty of Hopewell. As early as 1800 the Cherokees were manufacturing cotton cloth. Each family had a farm under cultivation. There were districts with a council house, judge and marshal, schools in all villages, printing presses and churches of several denominations. Many of the Indians were Christians and were said to lead exemplary lives.

The United States Commissioner who negotiated the treaty of Hopewell had declared: "We want none of your lands nor anything else which belongs to you." The statement proved too altruistic. Treaty followed treaty, each one accompanied by a further cession of lands to the Government. Finally, in 1838, 18,000 of the Cherokee people were removed by military force to what is now Eastern Oklahoma. A recalcitrant minority fled to the mountains of their native state, evading the forced exodus. Some concessions were made to these conscientious objectors in the treaty of 1846, and by 1870 they had expended the proceeds of lands sold to purchase other lands in the mountain regions to which they had retreated.

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Unfortunately the title to these lands was vested in the agent instead of in a trust. The agent became insolvent; the lands were sold for debt. Finally the Eastern Cherokees were placed upon their present reservation of 70,000 acres in the western part of the State, the title being held by a corporation known as the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina.

On this reservation, with its wooded mountains and deep valleys, through which flows the beautiful Ocono Lufty River, live 640 Cherokee families, making up a total population of 2,400. A few Indian families live in white communities, and there are some twenty white families on the reservation, as well as a few Catawba Indians. There are also several hundred "white Indians" not living on the reservation who claim to be members of the tribe and have some rights in its lands and moneys.¹

While the Eastern Cherokees are citizens of the State and can vote if they wish, their agency and school are administered by a Federal officer, who also handles the money of members of the tribe and keeps a check on the tribal funds. There, however, his authority stops. He has no control over the movements of the Indians and the enforcement of law is in the hands of the State authorities. Individual Indians hold their lands as tenants of the Corporation, and if land is owned by an individual it reverts to the tribe if the taxes are not paid. Recommendations have been made to the Board of Indian Commissioners that the lands be deeded to the Government by the Corporation, which should then dissolve, and that the Government should allot through an impartial commission a due share of arable, grazing and timber land to each Indian. In support of this proposal it is urged that through the possession of personal property the Indians would be encouraged to improve their land, to build modern houses and to adopt improved methods of farming.

¹ According to a statement made by the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at Baltimore, November, 1922, the population of the Cherokees of North Carolina has shown a marked increase in the last ten years. In 1912 there were 7,914, while the latest figures are 11,853. In order to arrive at these figures the Croatans (q. v.) are in all probability included as well as groups of so-called "white Indians."

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In general the economic and social life of these Indians is that of not too prosperous but thrifty farmers. The climate is well suited to general farming and fruit-growing, and there is on the reservation the usual complement of sheep, cattle, horses, swine and poultry that would be found in any community of small farmers. A few of the Indians are engaged in basket- and pottery-making, and some of the children have been taught the art of weaving rag rugs.

An interesting feature of the community is the Farmer Society, which has a membership of between 300 and 400, meets weekly and exercises considerable influence through the popular Indian fair which is held annually in the Fall. The fair is attended by hundreds of people from the surrounding neighborhood and special excursions are even run from as far away as Asheville. Farm products and cattle are exhibited, and baskets, rugs and pottery are on sale. The healthy rivalry introduced among the Indians by this fair in the cultivation of fruit and vegetables and the raising of cattle is of the greatest educational and economic value.

Of hardly less importance in the social life of the Indians are the singing societies organized under the auspices of the old clans. Musical contests are held not only between clans in the various churches but also with musical groups in the white communities of the State. The activities of these societies, as well as the picnics which are another popular feature in the life of the Indians, deserve and should receive every encouragement. Other social activities include Indian ball games and the Green Corn Dance in the fall, the latter having completely lost any religious significance. There are no dance-halls or pool-rooms, but there is a large assembly hall at the school which is used for moving-pictures.

Morally and physically the Cherokee Indian may be called a healthy citizen. Distances between homes and indifferent means of communication off the main thoroughfares compel men and women to walk long distances, and the physical exercise is good for health. Less than 5 per cent. of the population is affected by tuberculosis or trachoma. Housing conditions are good, but not luxurious, well kept, two- or three-room

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log or frame houses being the general rule. The marriage laws are enforced and separations are few. There is not much gambling on the reservation and very little prostitution. A certain amount of illicit distilling takes place in the mountains by whites and returned Indian students, but there is little drinking on the reservation, nor is there any addiction to the use of drugs. Fights and brawls, which constitute most of the petty crime, have been on the increase of late, and justice is difficult owing to the lack of authority of the Government agent in dealing with law enforcement. The old Indian religion and superstitions have practically no hold on the people.

Educationally the Indian children of this reservation are well cared for by four Government day schools and one Government boarding school.^{1a} Of the day schools all but one are well equipped and are doing good work. All have baseball grounds. The reservation boarding school is the center of the activities of the reservation. It carries eight grades and has an enrollment of 276. The half-day plan of work is followed and is considered necessary and advantageous. Athletic activities include basket-ball, baseball, Indian-ball, volley-ball and tennis. Socials are held monthly at which there is dancing, and the girls are encouraged to weave rag rugs which are sold at the Indian fair. There are two literary societies, one for the older boys and the other for the older girls. Religious preference of the pupils is either Baptist or Methodist, and the three missionaries of these denominations take turns at preaching on Sunday mornings and in helping with the Sunday school of five classes. The Government superintendent extends the most cordial coöperation to Christian workers and is anxious that their work should be extended.

Mission work among the Eastern Cherokees dates almost from the time of their first contact with civilization. Wesleyan missionaries were among them in 1735 and the Philadelphia Friends came a little later; the work of the Southern Baptists is a century old, dating from 1820; the Methodist Episcopal

^{1a} Indian children are not as yet permitted to attend public schools in the State of North Carolina.

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Church, South, established a mission in 1880, and the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1920.

There are sixteen Protestant churches on the reservation, belonging to the Southern Baptist and the two Methodist Episcopal denominations. None of these churches can be called well-equipped and some of them are situated within two or three miles of one another. The Baptist churches are the most numerous. In the Eastern Cherokee Baptist Association are included seven Indian and two "white Indian" churches. In addition, there are three other Baptist "white Indian" churches and one negro-Indian church, the latter having a membership of only twelve persons. The total membership of all thirteen Baptist churches is between six and seven hundred. All of the churches are log or frame buildings.

Two churches belong to the Methodist Episcopal Church and one to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the former having a joint membership of 24 and the latter a membership of 35. The Methodist Episcopal Church is building a new church with a seating capacity of 150 on land granted by the corporation. The opinion of the missionary in charge is that in view of the excellent equipment of the Government school in the way of gymnastic work, baseball, moving-pictures, etc., no such equipment is necessary at the church.

In the Baptist churches preaching services, usually in Cherokee but sometimes interpreted, are held once a month in each church, while six of the churches also have small Sunday schools. A meeting for boys and girls is held in the home of the missionary once a week under the name of the "Good Will Center Work." The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, holds a preaching service conducted by the missionary once a month and a service conducted by a native pastor every Sunday. There is no organized Sunday school but there is Bible study each Sunday for old people. In the Methodist Episcopal Church preaching service is held every Sunday, usually in English but sometimes interpreted, and there is a Sunday school in connection with the church.

None of the churches are self-supporting or within measurable distance of self-support, but the Indians are described

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generally as loyal and appreciative and the future of the field is considered good.

The work of each denomination is in charge of a white missionary assisted by native pastors or interpreters whose salaries range from \$15 to \$20 a year. The missionaries have long distances to cover and inadequate means of transportation, which militates against effective work. In the case of the Indian pastors a handicap on their influence is the fact that owing to inadequate salaries their own homes and living conditions are inferior to those of many of their congregation.

The independence and progress of the Eastern Cherokee people have reached the stage where they need not so much physical help as a widened horizon and the inspiration of intelligent leadership.

CROATANS

The Croatans may not in the strictest sense be classed as Indians. By common tradition they are said to be the descendants of the Lost Colony of Roanoke, sometimes spoken of as Governor White's Colony. Governor White came to North Carolina in 1587 with 150 men, women and children with the purpose of ultimate settlement. Returning to England for supplies, he was delayed three years, and upon his return found no trace of the colony except the word "Croatan" carved on a tree, which seemed to designate that the survivors had gone down to Croatan Sound where some friendly tribes of Indians lived. Later it seems that some escaped pirates, many of whom were Portuguese, joined the colony, and no doubt a number of runaway negroes. It is evident, therefore, that these Croatans are an amalgamation of a number of races. It is of interest to note that even to this day they retain many characteristics that are purely English.

The Croatans have no reservation. They are said to number something over 6,000, although some place the figure as high as 12,000. They work well and have fairly good homes. They acquire all the land possible and sell very little. The State of North Carolina provides schools for them separate

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from the whites. In 1921 the legislature appropriated \$15,000 for their normal and industrial school at Pembroke.

The Methodist Church is at work among these people. There are nine churches and two additional preaching points. Five pastors, all native, serve these charges. The membership is 408; the Sunday school attendance, 371; the value of the church property, \$9,000. Preaching services are held weekly at five points, while two have young people's societies and Ladies Aids. All churches are located within thirty-five miles of Pembroke. At the latter point there is no church building at present, but appropriations have recently been made to acquire property where a community building will be erected which will form a social center. The Croatans are all anxious for this and have already subscribed generously for the project.

II: *Seminoles of Florida*

A good deal of what is romantic and heroic in the history of Florida has been contributed by the tribe of Indians known as the Seminoles. The name means "wild wanderers," and the tribe was presumably so called from the fact that in Colonial times they broke away from the Creeks and drifted south. This was in 1750. Since then the Florida Seminole has served as a cat's-paw for the white man, both Spanish and American. The first negotiations of an official character took place with this tribe in 1823. The attempt to force the Seminoles to remove to Indian Territory brought on the longest and bloodiest of Indian wars, which lasted from 1835 to 1842. Through duplicity on the part of the whites, the famous chief, Osceola, was captured, and the spirit of the Indians was broken. The remnants of the Seminoles who escaped have been living ever since in the Everglades. To-day they are still unconquered and unsubdued and since they have never acknowledged formal allegiance to the national Government, their status is strictly that of outlaws. In 1892 a United States Agency was established near Fort Myers. Since then, 26,000 acres have been set aside for these people by the Gov-

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ernment, and approximately 100,000 acres by the State of Florida as a game preserve.

The Indian population of this area is made up of two distinct tribal groups, speaking different languages and having little in common. The northern tribe, locally known as the Cow Creek band, situated near the upper end of Lake Okeechobee, numbering 115, speaks the Muskogean language, while the southern tribe, known as the Big Cypress Indians,² with a population of 339, speaks a dialect called "Miccosukee." The total population (454 according to above figures, though some place the figure as high as 600) is scattered over an area of 9,000 square miles, in which there are no roads and practically no white population. To-day the Indians appear to be barely holding their own.

Hunting and fishing still furnish the means of livelihood for these people. Until recently alligator hides, and formerly otter skins, also, and the plumes of the egret, found a ready market. There is a limited amount of yellow pine and cypress and some of the more progressive Indians have cattle, hogs and poultry. These Seminoles have clung tenaciously to their Everglade homes, asking no favors from friend or foe. Their constant dread has been that of removal. With the closing in of the white man and the drainage of the Everglades the Seminole must enter upon another stage of development. Although the small reservation set aside by the Government is still in process of organization, it is proposed to make the raising of cattle the chief industry and to teach the Indian by means of experimental methods how to farm. The year in which the survey was made (1921) was a season of distress among the Seminoles. Floods swept away their garden truck and most of their cattle perished. Some of the adult Indians were, therefore, furnished with rations as needed. As a general rule these Indians are self-supporting and have sufficient to maintain themselves according to their rather low standards of living.

Although practically all marriages are by Indian custom,

² Living some fifty miles southeast of Fort Myers, in Lee County.



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these are more binding than among western Indian tribes. The woman is a companion, not a slave. The palmetto shacks serve as homes and in the camps the men and women occupy separate quarters in designated places in the circle. The standard of morality is high, and when the white man's laws are once explained the infractions are negligible. As regards health, the Seminoles are conspicuous for their freedom from such diseases as tuberculosis and trachoma, although quite susceptible to measles. All sick Indians are cared for in white hospitals at Government expense. Seventy-five per cent. will use intoxicants if available and a certain amount of home brew is manufactured. Two official dances are held annually, the Shotcatan in June and a hunting dance in November, a sort of thanksgiving festival. Of recent years the Indian dances have been commercialized in tourist centers, such as Miami and Palm Beach.

An official of the Indian Bureau reports as follows in regard to schools: "It is not practicable to establish schools for these Indians so long as they remain scattered as they are at present. If they occupy their reservation, as many of them desire to do, schools can be established." At present only a passing few have ever attended schools, although when the opportunity is given they learn readily and by disposition are apt to acquire the ways of civilization.

Religiously, the Florida Seminoles may be classed as non-Christians or pagans. Superstition has a firm hold on them and there are known to be only ten professing Christians among them. Their antagonism to Christianity has been largely due to their identifying the white man's perfidy with the white man's religion. Intermittent missionary effort has been attempted among them for a number of years. As early as 1891 the National Indian Association had work under way which continued for three years and was then transferred to the Episcopalians.³ Since 1913, the Muskogee Creek Baptist Association of Oklahoma has been sending native missionaries every year on a part-time basis. Their work

³ The mission was established near Fort Lauderdale but has since been abandoned.

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has centered among the Cow Creek band, near Indiantown. Camp work was carried on and attempts at Sunday school work and at the organization of sewing classes were made. The difficulty has been to overcome the Seminoles' distrust and dislike of strangers (even of their own race) and the fear of having their children taken away from them. It has seldom been possible to get the same group together twice.

To date no regular mission with permanent buildings has been established. Nevertheless, the Oklahoma Creeks have agreed to continue their work among the Seminoles, voting funds out of their own treasury. Better results might be expected if the workers stayed for longer periods and lived among the Seminoles as their friends, giving a practical demonstration of Christian life.

In 1919 the Florida State Baptist Convention requested the Southern Baptist Convention to investigate the needs of these Indians. Representatives were sent to the field, but when it was found that the Seminoles' fellow tribesmen of Oklahoma were already attempting work among their brethren no definite steps were taken to establish an industrial mission and school as had at first been contemplated.

The problems of the Florida Seminoles are industrial, educational and religious in character. The Government is assuming responsibility in increasing measure for the first two; it is for the Christian agencies to provide a vigorous program to meet the last-mentioned need.

III: *Mississippi Choctaw Indians*

Within the borders of Mississippi are the remnants, numbering approximately 1,500, of the Choctaw tribe which removed to Oklahoma in 1832-33. These Indians are not settled upon a reservation, although an agency was established for them at Philadelphia, Mississippi, in October, 1918, under the charge of Dr. Frank J. McKinley. They are distributed among Leake, Neshoba, Kemper, Scott, Newton, Washington, Tumca, Jones, Clark and Hancock counties, with a few individuals scattered through the rest of the state. Whether they

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are citizens or not is a debated though hardly a debatable question, since the Dawes Severalty Law ⁴ would appear to have settled definitely that an Indian who takes up his residence apart from his tribe is entitled to citizenship. The fact remains, however, that these Choctaw Indians of Mississippi are not permitted to vote.

Both physically and morally the Choctaws are exceptionally healthy Indians. They are self-supporting, maintaining themselves by farm labor and agriculture. Under the tenant system which prevails it is comparatively easy for them to eke out an existence. Real economic progress is, however, virtually impossible under this system. The land is rented to the Indians upon the crop basis, which means that landlord and tenant theoretically share fifty-fifty in the proceeds of the farm. The landlord also provides the Indian tenant with the necessary farming implements, animals and seed, and even gives him food and clothing to carry him over the harvest period. All of these accessories are, however, in the nature of a loan which must be repaid out of the tenant's share of the proceeds. It is easy to see, therefore, that the balance left for the tenant is apt to be exceedingly small, and the system, in effect, is one of peonage. It is satisfactory to learn that since the appointment of a Government agent this form of exploitation of the Indians has been considerably less common.

Appropriations have been made from time to time for the purchase of land on the reimbursable plan for the heads of Choctaw families. For one reason or another, however, none of these appropriations were made available until 1921, when the small sum of \$5,000 was applied to land purchased. At least \$30,000 more would be required to make adequate provision of land for the heads of families. This scheme, if carried out, would give these Indians a real chance to progress. They badly need such a chance since misfortune has overtaken their crops in three successive years, and in 1921 \$4,000 had to be allotted by the Indian Office for the purchase of rations.

⁴ See Appendix V, "The Legal Status of the Indian."

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In the matter of education, conditions have materially improved since the appointment of an Indian Agent. The public schools of the state are closed to the Indian children, and with the exception of a small day school conducted by the Roman Catholic mission at Tucker, in Neshoba County, the Choctaw Indians were for years wholly without educational facilities. Even this one school was burned down about four years ago and has never been rebuilt. The Government has, however, since 1916, provided three day schools, one in Neshoba County and two in Leake County. These schools carry the first seven grades, but their combined capacity is only 150 children, which means that fully half of the Indian children are without educational facilities.

The principal missionary work carried on among the Choctaws is Roman Catholic. Forty years ago the Belgian Foreign Missionary Society bought a tract of 1,400 acres of land at Tucker, near Philadelphia, Mississippi, and established a station there. About 150 Indians are at present living rent free on this mission tract. They are not required to give any portion of their crop to the mission or to pay the taxes on the land. The mission plant is well equipped with rectory, church and outbuildings. Services are held regularly and the Indian attendance on Sunday is good. Part of the time of the priest in charge of the mission is now devoted to the whites of the Roman Catholic faith in the parish. Another Roman Catholic mission is situated at Sulphur Springs, in Leake County, where there are about 350 Indians as well as a number of whites of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, carries on mission work in a crude chapel near Pearl River. The work is in charge of a native preacher who was at one time paid the magnificent salary of \$10 per quarter but is now without even this stipend. The attendance at the chapel is said to range from forty-eight to 150. According to the native preacher, there were also, up to three years ago, Methodist congregations in Newton County and Kemper County, numbering respectively fifty and seventy-eight. At present, however, nothing is being done for these congregations.

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Work was carried on many years ago by the Southern Baptists and a good many of the Mississippi Indians claim to be Baptists at the present day. There is, however, only one organized Baptist Church, located at Union, Newton County. This mission was established in 1917 by the Southern Baptist Convention. It is in charge of two workers, husband and wife. Both of these people claim to have some amount of Choctaw blood in their veins. The plant consists of a good parsonage and a small chapel. There are twenty-four members and services are held regularly on Sunday and Friday evenings. These workers are reputed to have done good service in the way of encouraging the basket industry among the Indians. An unfortunate situation has, however, arisen in connection with these people as a result of certain inheritance claims made by one of them on the plea of having been "adopted" by various Indians. The entire affair has become somewhat notorious and it is hardly to be expected that the work of the church among these Choctaws can prosper under present conditions.

A non-progressive group of some 200 Indians lives in Kemper County. These people are opposed to schools and to missionaries and at present practically nothing is being done for them.

IV: *Indians of Louisiana*

Scattered over Louisiana are 780 Indians, mostly of the Chittemache tribe, said to be of Choctaw stock. Two bands, numbering about 150 in all, live at Verdonville, ten miles from Franklin, in St. Mary's County. Verdonville was settled years ago by a Frenchman, called Verdine, and the Indians are of mixed French, Indian and Negro blood. Their social status is that of the Negro and they are not admitted to the public schools.

At Charenton, a French village ten miles northeast of Franklin, is a Chittemache band of about ninety Indians, all of whom speak French and most of them also English. Socially they are classed as Negroes, but they are proud of their

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Indian blood, and as they refuse to attend Negro schools, they remain without educational facilities. There are said to be twenty children of this band free from Negro blood, and an Indian school should be opened for them. Recently these Indians deeded their land to the United States, to be held in trust for them, to save it from being sold through their own weakness and ignorance. Originally, the French Government set aside one square league for them, but many of the Indians deeded away small tracts, and the United States recognized the validity of such transfers of title. Religiously the Chittemache Indians are under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

A band of fifty Indians is settled at Bayou Lacomb, on the north shore of Lake Ponchartrain, across from New Orleans,⁵ and another band of the same size, known as the Red River band, is at Marksville, the county seat of Avarll's Parish, on a branch line of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. This latter band owns 130 acres of land, given to them by a Frenchman some years ago. The county levies no taxes upon this land, but there is no record of its title being vested in the Indians. Some missionary work is done among these people by the Congregationalists.

At Kinder, in Allen County, which has a white population of 2,000, are about 250 of the original Qua-she-tee Indians—a part of the Alabama Indians. These are the purest Indians found in Louisiana, all of them being free from Negro blood. Missionary work has been conducted in this locality by the Congregationalists for about twenty-five years. The parish, or county, has two public schools, each having a term of six months, to which the Indian children are admitted. These Indians own 1,050 acres of land.

V: *Alabama Indians of Texas*

Residing on 1,200 acres of poorish land in Polk County, Texas, is a band of 250 Alabama Indians. The tribe seems

⁵ A complete report was made on this band by D. I. Bushnell, 1909, Bulletin No. 48, Bureau of American Ethnology. Also Bulletin No. 43, by Dr. J. R. Swanton.

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originally to have come from one of the states on the South Atlantic seaboard and to have settled in Texas about one hundred years ago. It found its present location in 1854, and the land which the tribe owns to-day was set aside for it by the state of Texas in 1881. The Federal Government has never exercised any supervision or control over these Indians.

Although the Indian village is not more than eighteen miles from Livingston, the nearest railroad point, it is practically isolated by reason of lack of communications, the roads during the winter being impassable for wagons. Thus this band of Indians has remained aloof from the influence of the surrounding civilization. Like the early Christians they have all things in common, and while they are extremely poor, owing to unscientific methods of farming which have resulted in exhaustion of their acres, the Alabama Indians are known for their high code of morals.

The health of the tribe has been considerably impaired by constant intermarriage, and tuberculosis affects some 20 per cent. Nevertheless, owing no doubt to their isolated position, the tribe has been remarkably free from epidemics. The homes of the Indians resemble the two-room log cabins of the mountain people of Kentucky. Usually each hut is surrounded by its tiny garden in which are grown potatoes, corn and cotton. Marriage vows have always had a peculiar sanctity with these people and their views of the marital relationship have been deepened by contact with Christianity. Most of the marriages nowadays are performed by the missionary. Owing to their communistic mode of life there is no class feeling among these Indians, but there is a distinct racial feeling against negroes. The church and the little mission school are the center of their community activities.

The one-room school house has accommodations for fifty children and is taught by the missionary's wife. The instruction given is ungraded and elementary and there is great need in this village for an industrial school, for which an appropriation of \$5,000 was made by the Federal Government shortly after this survey was completed.

Mission work has been carried on among these Indians

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since 1881 by the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. The present missionaries, husband and wife, have been on the field for twenty-one years and have done faithful and devoted work. The church, which was organized in 1890, is a rough frame structure near the center of the village. A small but picturesque vine-covered cottage is used as a parsonage. The mission is financed by the Home Board, but the Indians give liberally according to their means. There are 130 members on the church roll, of whom fifty are classed as active, and the Sunday school has an enrollment of 150 with an average attendance of seventy-five. The preaching services (interpreted) are held once a month on Sunday mornings, and on Sunday evenings there are meetings with prayer and song.

A good deal might be done to brighten the lives of these simple and moral folk. They badly need more land to take the place of their exhausted acres and some one trained in scientific farming to teach them not to repeat their agricultural mistakes of the past. The proposed industrial school should be to them an inestimable boon, but they need also further contact with the outside world, which might well be established by sending selected pupils to outside schools. Among such pupils, upon their return, might well be found the native leadership which is at present lacking and which is needed to supplement the efforts of the missionaries.

CHAPTER IX

THE GREAT LAKES

I: *Indians of Michigan*

The Michigan Indians possess the distinction of having been the first to give up their tribal holdings for land in severalty. By treaties of 1854 and 1855 they received citizenship on abandoning their tribal organization and for the first time in Indian history the experiment was tried of substituting individual for tribal ownership. Previous to this momentous step five treaties had been made by which the various tribes had ceded practically all of their lands to the Government, the most important being the Treaty of Chicago in 1821 with the Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawatomis.

Michigan Indians of the present day may be divided into two groups, non-reservation and reservation.

NON-RESERVATION OR CITIZEN INDIANS

It is estimated that there are about 7,000 non-reservation citizen Indians scattered throughout Michigan, belonging to the Chippewas, Ottawas and Potawatomis, with the Chippewas predominating. While these Indians are more or less scattered throughout the state, they are found principally in settlements at Mt. Pleasant, Saginaw, Charlevoix, Suttons Bay, Mackinac Island, St. Ignace, Munising, Beaver Island, Manistique and Sault Ste. Marie.

In general these Indians are not more distinguishable from the white population than a group of immigrant foreigners would be. All profess the Christian faith and observe the State marriage laws, while the position of their women is virtually on a par with that of white women. With few exceptions the Indians are self-supporting, finding employment

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in factories, on farms, in commercial fishing and in various branches of the lumber industry. If poverty among them is slightly more prevalent than among white people engaged in similar occupations, the explanation is probably to be found in their greater improvidence and lack of enterprise.

Physically and morally, these Indians are not to be differentiated from their white neighbors. Tuberculosis is probably slightly more prevalent among them than among white people, because the Indian is peculiarly susceptible to this disease. Prohibition has brought some improvement in the use of alcohol, but bad whiskey still appears to be plentiful among whites and Indians alike. Most of the Indian children attend the Michigan public schools, but 358 are enrolled at the Mt. Pleasant Government school.

RESERVATION INDIANS

Under the Mackinac Agency, embracing an area of approximately 30,000 acres, are enrolled 1,172 Chippewa Indians belonging to the L'Anse, Lac Vieux de Sert and Ontonagon bands. Between 600 and 800 of these live in Baraga County, on the reservation proper, and in communities adjacent to the villages of L'Anse, Baraga, Pequaming, Skanee and Keweenaw Bay. Some fifty or seventy-five live at Lac Vieux de Sert, near Phelps, Wisconsin; fifty are found in and about Ontonagon, and the balance are scattered.

For all of these Indians, both those in Baraga County, under direct supervision of the Agency, and the others who are scattered through various communities, the lumbering and mining industries form the principal means of livelihood. A number of the Indians have small farms or allotments, but even of these the majority depend for their main subsistence upon daily labor. Poverty is general, though not actual want, and for those in real distress assistance is provided either of a regular or of a temporary nature. The general poverty of these Indians is due largely to the fact that their interests were not conserved in the past and that little benefit accrued to them through their Government grants.

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Health and housing conditions are fairly good. There are no cases of trachoma among the Indians under this Agency, but fifty are affected to a greater or less degree by tuberculosis. Determined efforts are, however, being made to combat the latter evil. The county tuberculosis society has taken up the matter actively and the services of the county nurse as well as of local welfare workers are available for the Indians. The importance of anti-tuberculosis measures has been impressed upon the consciousness of the white people as a matter of enlightened self-interest and the Indians have the benefit of hospital treatment and observation. While there is considerable room for improvement in housing conditions, all of the Indians live in real houses and their conditions on the whole compare favorably with those of the poor white farmer in this locality.

In general, prohibition has worked a considerable improvement in the condition of the Indians. In the old days the use of alcohol was continuous. Now, although bootlegging is a fairly flourishing industry, the consumption of whiskey is confined to periodical "sprees," and the frequency of these is dependent upon the prosperity of the individual. There is a certain amount of gambling but the situation in this regard appears to be well in hand.

An exception to the fairly favorable conditions described must be noted in the case of a small band at Lac Vieux de Sert, who seem to have cut themselves off from the rest of their world and are living in a somewhat primitive fashion in frame houses and bark shacks. Among these backward Indians belief in the medicine man still prevails and they still practice the old Indian dances. The latter, however, are conducted mainly for the benefit of tourists and campers and are pretty thoroughly commercialized. Attempts are being made to enroll the children of this band in the Lac du Flambeau Indian School, and by thus getting hold of the young people to improve conditions generally in the band.

Among both non-reservation and reservation groups missionary work has been carried on for many years. Near the

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present site of Adrian the Carey Mission School was founded by the renowned missionary, Isaac McCoy. Of special interest, in view of later developments, was the cession of a quarter section of land to sixty-two pupils enrolled at this school by the treaty of Wabash in 1826.

Roman Catholic work was launched by Father Baraga in 1844.¹ To-day the Michigan Indians are about equally divided between the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths. Under the Mackinac Agency, at Assinins, where there is a resident priest, the Catholics maintain two mission schools, one a boarding school for orphaned Indian children, with an enrollment of 133, and the other a day school for the resident Indians, with an enrollment of 36.^{1a} The Methodists have a mission at Zeba served by the minister at L'Anse. Here preaching services are held every Sunday, with an average attendance of seventy-five, and a Sunday school, with an enrollment of forty.

Among the non-reservation, or citizen, groups missionary work is carried on by both Roman Catholic and Protestant organizations, but on a small scale only for the reason that the Indians are so located that they can be reached through the resident clergy. The pastor of the Presbyterian church at Onema, for instance, ministers to both Indians and whites. The Methodists have twelve churches and chapels where work is carried on among the non-reservation groups either as a distinctive missionary enterprise or as a part of the regular ministry to whites. Reports were available from eight such stations. The material equipment shows a valuation of \$7,150 for church buildings and \$720 for land. All receive some form of home mission aid. The receipts show that \$710 was received during the last fiscal year from collections, while \$1,142 was spent for salaries and benevolences. The total membership is 276. Preaching services are held every Sunday, three churches

¹ This applies to modern missionary work. The first mission west of the Huron country was established by Jesuits about 1660, probably at Keweenaw Bay, Michigan.

^{1a} The Roman Catholics also report missions in Coss and Berrien Counties for the Potawatomis; in Sault Ste. Marie for the Chippewas, and in Harbor Springs, Cross Village and St. James for the Ottawas.

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holding services morning, afternoon and evening. Three churches report Sunday schools, the enrollment being seventy. Of special interest are the annual camp meetings held near Traverse City and other places such as Northport and L'Anse, which call together Indians from many sections of Michigan as well as from other states. One native pastor, who has been in the ministry for thirty-one years, serves three points; another pastor serves one Indian and three white churches.

A distinctively Indian missionary program among Michigan Indians at this late date is hardly called for. What is needed now is an awakened social consciousness on the part of the white churches located in communities where these non-reservation groups are to be found, some of them unchurched and unbefriended.

II: *Indians of Wisconsin*

MENOMINEES

From the time when Père Marquette and La Salle first visited the Menominees at their principal settlements along Green Bay and Fox River Valley, this tribe has been known for its friendship for the white man and its fidelity to its given word. A fine, upstanding race of men, usually six feet or more in height, the Menominees enjoyed in times past, through all the Great Lakes region over which they roamed, the reputation of being a peace-loving people, slow to anger, but mighty warriors when roused to a just quarrel. They lived up to this reputation at the time of the Civil War, when considerable numbers of their young men fought in the armies of the Republic. To-day the Menominees enjoy the distinction of being the only Indian tribe which has a G. A. R. post, but it is significant of the decline in numbers, and perhaps in morale, that the tribe sent fewer men to the colors in the World War than in the Civil War.

The Menominee reservation, consisting of 231,600 acres of timber land in Shawano and Oconto counties, was allocated to the tribe about the middle of the last century and is still

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entirely unallotted. The Agency is situated at Keshena. At Neopit, also on the reservation, is a Government sawmill, the white workers in which, with their families, make up a population of some 500 people. The nearest town is Shawano, with a population of 3,600. The State highway crosses the reservation which, all told, has 120 miles of road, and the Wisconsin and Northern Railway crosses the western part of it. The Indian population in 1921 was 1,780, of whom only thirty were citizens. Since 1900, as the result of a considerably reduced death rate, the population has increased by 200.

The standing timber upon this reservation, which amounts to one billion feet and is being cut at the rate of twenty million feet a year under Government auspices, is the principal source of income for the Indian population. The sawmill at Neopit also employs some 400 Indians, but the principal industry of the Indians is on the farms which produce small grains and garden truck. A large number of families is also employed in making maple sugar during the season. As a result of the valuable timber there is no poverty on this reservation, nor is there any commercial exploitation of the Indian by the white man. The latter fortunate circumstance has, nevertheless, its drawbacks. The absence of the familiar evil of exploitation is due largely to the paternalism of the United States Government. The Menominee can buy nothing without an order of authority. He is the ward of the Government and is so carefully looked after that his feeling of individual responsibility is in danger of being destroyed. A bill has been introduced into Congress providing for the allotment of this reservation which would throw the Indian more upon his own resources and would pave the way for full citizenship. For reasons of a technical character this bill has been "pocketed," and the Menominee, who formerly occupied pride of place among Indian tribes, is being outstripped by others of his race in assuming the obligations of citizenship.

In his domestic relations the Menominee is unmoral rather than immoral. While the State marriage laws are rigorously enforced upon this reservation and divorces are a rare occurrence, there is a lamentable amount of promiscuity and the

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number of illegitimate children is large. The superintendent of the reservation does his best to combat this situation but receives no assistance from the Federal laws, which fail to cover domestic irregularities.

The situation just described is the result, in part at least, of inadequate housing conditions. Although there are virtually no one-room houses on the reservation, it is a matter of common occurrence for one room to accommodate the entire family or even two families, especially during the winter season, while the characteristic hospitality of the Indian impels him also to open his one room to his guests.

There is a good deal of intermarriage between whites and Indians on this reservation, nine such marriages being recorded in 1921 out of a total of twenty marriages. On the other hand inter-tribal marriage is relatively rare, there being only twelve instances of such unions on the reservation. In the matter of health the Indians are adequately looked after, with a hospital at the Agency which has accommodations for twenty-five patients and another smaller one at Neopit which can accommodate six patients. Government physicians are in charge at each hospital and the Agency doctor looks after the general health of the reservation. The Indians make good use of these facilities and all maternity cases are now taken to the hospital. It is estimated that 15 per cent. of the population have tuberculosis and that trachoma affects 5 per cent.

The liquor problem is not a serious one among these Indians and the situation appears to be well in hand, despite a certain amount of bootlegging by white people on the outskirts of the reservation. The peyote cult is said to have obtained a hold upon a few of the Indians, but has probably on this reservation not more than a dozen adherents. Indian dances, religious in character, are held at irregular intervals in temporary lodges. The reservation boasts of no theaters or pool-rooms, the only buildings for recreational purposes being the Government and mission schools. At Neopit are a band and a small orchestra conducted by an Indian, and two baseball teams have been organized on the reservation. In the fall an annual fair is held, with games, races and dancing, which is

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attended by a considerable number of white visitors whose admission charges defray the expenses.

There are four schools on the reservation, the Government boarding school and the Government day school and two Roman Catholic mission schools, one of which is a boarding school at Keshena and the other a day school at Neopit. The rules as to attendance are well enforced by Government officials and the percentage of illiteracy is on the decrease, although 65 per cent. of the adult population is still unable to read or write English.

Despite a long familiarity with Christian teaching, it is probably a conservative estimate that 25 per cent. of the Menominees are still under the influence of the old Indian religion and superstition. The remainder are of the Roman Catholic faith. A Catholic mission was first established among the Menominee Indians in 1844, and there is a tradition of an early agreement among the Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Catholic churches which allocated certain territories to each church. According to this agreement, the Episcopalians went to Oneida, the Presbyterians to Stockbridge and the Catholics to Menominee. However that may be, the Catholics at the present time have two active churches on the Oneida reservation, but still have the Menominee field to themselves. Two stations are maintained, at Keshena and at Neopit, as well as two out-stations. The work is in charge of two resident priests who have been on this reservation for thirty-five years. In view of the rather static condition of the present Christian work upon this reservation and of the low standard of morality which is prevalent, it would appear that here is a case in which healthy competition would be beneficial. A Protestant mission undoubtedly would have no easy time establishing itself among the Menominees, but the results might justify the effort.

STOCKBRIDGE

The Stockbridge tribe of Indians has had an interesting history. They gave their name to the village of Stockbridge, Mass., which was established for them in 1736, and there John

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Sergeant continued the ministry to them which he had started in 1734. In 1751 Jonathan Edwards became pastor of the Stockbridge church. Between 1785 and 1787 the tribe migrated to New York. Later, at the invitation of the Miamis and Delawares, they went along with these tribes to Indiana, and thence to Wisconsin, where they settled down in the vicinity of Green Bay. A missionary was sent to them by the American Board, and the first Protestant church in Wisconsin was organized among these people in 1827. Citizenship was bestowed on the tribe by Congress in 1843. Following 1871, allotment in severalty was made to members of the tribe, and in 1906 patents in fee were issued. To-day there are about 300 members of this tribe left, living in the vicinity of Gresham.

Originally their land possessed valuable timber, but this has become exhausted, and farming and dairying are now the chief sources of income. All the Indians are poor. Their economic and social status is similar to that of the non-reservation groups in Michigan, their scale of living being on a par with that of the white tenant class. Three public schools are open to the Indian children. The Lutherans conduct a mission school at Red Springs, opened in 1898, which carries the first eight grades and has an enrollment of 105, including Mohawks, Oneidas and Delawares. All the children show preference for the Lutheran faith, although this is not required for entrance. Regular instruction is given and a confirmation class is made up of the older children. Week-day religious instruction only is given, as the pupils go home over Sunday.

The Presbyterians also have maintained missionary work among the Stockbridge Indians since 1867. Churches are organized at Red Springs, Morgan and Gresham, and some extension work is carried on among the Menominees at Keshena and Neopit. The principal Presbyterian efforts center, however, at Gresham, where a resident missionary is in charge of the three stations mentioned. It is only a matter of time when the Stockbridge Indians will become part and parcel of the organized communities in which they live. Re-

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ligious effort should, therefore, be directed to including them in the extension work carried on by the white churches, of which they should by all means become a part.²

WINNEBAGOS

The 1,292 Winnebago Indians, nominally under the Government Agency at Wisconsin Rapids, are related to the tribe in Nebraska. They have never been settled on a reservation in Wisconsin, but each male adult received forty acres on the public domain. All of these Indians are citizens, but their property rights are restricted.

By nature a somewhat shiftless, happy-go-lucky people, these Indians have fallen easily into the habit of migrant labor. Farming is diligently encouraged by the Agency superintendent, who insists in the springtime that not even the so-called religious ceremonies connected with the peyote cult may be allowed to interfere with planting. Largely as a result of this encouragement, the crops raised during the year 1920 were disposed of for an aggregate sum of \$45,000. The Winnebago Indian is not, however, a farmer by choice. He infinitely prefers to peddle his basket-work from town to town, or to follow the ripe berries, living in tepees and moving from place to place where the crop seems most plentiful. A sideline that fits in well with this nomadic way of earning a living is the native dance, which the Winnebagos have developed into a not inconsiderable source of revenue.

The tepee is a habitation well adapted to this roving life, and many of the Indians who own houses prefer to live in a tepee or lodge. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1920 reported that 40 per cent. of the Winnebagos were living in tepees or tents. It seems probable that insanitary living conditions aggravate a natural tendency to tuberculosis among these Indians. At any rate, from 18 to 20 per cent. are affected by tuberculosis in some form, while 5 per cent. suffer from trachoma.

² The Roman Catholics report 150 Stockbridge Indians as ministered to by their church in connection with St. Michael's Mission at Keshena.

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Casual in labor, the Winnebago is apt also to be casual in his domestic relationships. When the Government agent discovers that marriage has been entered into without due process of law, he takes steps to compel the parties concerned to obtain a license; but Winnebago inclination and a nomadic life combine to defeat the efforts of the law. Intermarriage with whites does not occur among these Indians, who, indeed, though living in white communities, have few dealings with their white neighbors. Drunkenness among the Indians is on the increase as the result of addiction to "home brew" and "moonshine." Peyote is used by the younger men and meetings are held regularly. Superstition still has a strong hold, 20 per cent. of the Winnebagos being under its influence, and the medicine man is frequently consulted in cases of sickness even where a regular doctor has also been called in.

Two mission stations serve this wandering band, a mission of the Reformed Church in the United States at Black River Falls, and one of the Norwegian Lutheran Church near Wittenberg. The former began work in 1878 and now reports a church organization of sixty members. The attendance fluctuates greatly on account of the migratory habits of the congregation. The mission schools have done admirable work and have had an interesting history. The Reformed school, at Neillsville, started as a day school, but became a boarding school in 1917. It accommodates seventy pupils and is conducted along the lines of a large family.³ The Lutheran school, at Wittenberg, was established in 1884 and was supported by a Government subsidy until 1895. It was then sold to the Government when subsidies were withdrawn from church schools, and was conducted by the Government as a boarding school from 1900 on. The Government abandoned the property in 1917 and the church repurchased it. The average attendance is 105, and eight grades are carried. Religious instruction is a part of the curriculum. Most of

³ In 1921 a new building, costing \$55,000, was dedicated. At the Black River Falls station there is also a mission day school which accommodates forty pupils.

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the children in this school are Winnebagos, but Oneidas and Potawatomis are also represented.

POTAWATOMIS

The Potawatomi Indians in Wisconsin are a remnant of the tribe which was left over from the westward movement to Kansas and Oklahoma, which began with the launching of the "Indian Territory" scheme. In 1913 Congress made a grant of \$150,000 for the purchase of land in Wisconsin and Michigan for the benefit of this remnant. Land was purchased where available, and the result is a reservation of some 15,000 acres, all unallotted and scattered over several counties, the largest strip being in Forest County. Not only has the Government endeavored to meet its obligations by providing lands for these Indians, but it has gone further in recognizing that the sum of half a million dollars was properly owed to the band and has provided an appropriation for their benefit. In consequence, the 650 Indians who live under this agency, located at Laona, form a prosperous and self-respecting band. Their chief source of income is the cultivation of the land, with stock-raising as a secondary occupation; while the native industries, basket-making and bead work, give employment to a certain number.

The domestic standards of the Potawatomis are relatively high. The old Indian custom marriages have all been legalized and divorce is rare. Housing conditions are exceptionally good, the Government having given material aid in this direction. As a consequence of a sanitary mode of life the health conditions are satisfactory. A sane mind accompanies the sane body. No arrests for drunkenness have been reported for many years; there is little if any gambling, and the use of peyote is unknown. Indian dances are held only at rare intervals. A certain number of the older people still cling to the Indian customs and superstitions, but these do not represent more than 10 per cent. of the population.

School facilities are entirely adequate. Four district schools are available and seventy children attend the Government

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school at Lac du Flambeau. Not more than 10 per cent. of the Indians are illiterate and the percentage is steadily decreasing.

In raising the standards of life upon this reservation the Lutheran church at Carter has exerted a beneficent influence. For thirty-five years a devoted pastor gave his life to the service of these people and his death a few years ago was mourned by the entire band. With the change in leadership which followed the death of this pastor the Lutheran church unfortunately lost its influence, and at the present time services are held there only once a month, when a minister from Minnesota visits the place. Although the Lutheran is the only church on the reservation a small number of the Potawatomis are reached by the Methodist Episcopal church across the line, at Harris, in Michigan, and a number attend white churches in the neighboring villages.

ONEIDAS

A branch of the great Iroquois family, the Oneida Indians originally came from the lake of their name in New York State. Toward the end of the eighteenth century a portion of the tribe emigrated to Ontario, Canada, where they still remain. Early in the nineteenth century the first band of the Oneidas pushed out into the unknown West, reaching Green Bay, Wisconsin, in 1821, and during the next twenty-five years this band was followed by others of their tribe from their original home in New York State. Finally, a reservation of 65,400 acres was allotted to 1,500 Oneida Indians west of Green Bay, in Brown and Outagamie counties, under the treaty of 1838. The reservation consists of rolling land, much of which is fertile but a good deal swampy and almost worthless. Upon the reservation is one unorganized village and just beyond its confines are a couple of towns, one of which, Green Bay, is the chief commercial center. The tribal census gives the population as 2,687, half of whom, however, are not now living on the reservation. All of these Oneida Indians are citizens and patents in fee have been issued to cover practically

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all the land allotted. The trust period for thirty-five allotments was extended nineteen years by special executive order in 1918.

With the removal of restrictions a good deal of the land was sold at from \$10 to \$50 an acre. One result is that at the present time there are as many white people as Indians upon the reservation. Another and more important result is that the Indians, having spent improvidently the proceeds of their land sales, were long ago thrown upon their own resources and compelled to seek gainful employment. While this economic necessity has led to a scattering of the tribe, it has also made the Oneidas independent in character and has helped to develop them into the trustworthy and efficient workmen which they are recognized to be.

The impression which the visitor to this reservation receives to-day is not definitely that of an Indian settlement. The long contact of the Oneidas with their white neighbors and their economic independence have resulted in their assimilation to white standards of living. Their chief income is from the products of the land and from wages for work on the neighboring farms or in white communities. Their homes, although small, are well-kept and clean and compare not unfavorably with those of white people under similar economic conditions. The Oneida is a citizen and respects the laws of the State, notably those controlling marriage and divorce, in regard to which a wholesome public opinion is found. Generally speaking, the Oneidas are a healthy people, not more than 5 per cent. being affected by tuberculosis or trachoma. Medical aid is difficult to obtain since the nearest doctors to the reservation are at Green Bay, ten miles distant, but the workers at the Protestant Episcopal mission give invaluable aid in this respect, especially during epidemics.

Morally and socially the Oneida compares well with his white neighbor. He uses little liquor, although the amount of drunkenness has shown some increase since prohibition and the consequent bootlegging of "moonshine" by white men. There have been no native Indian dances on the reservation for a number of years, but there are two commercial dance-

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halls in the little community of Oneida at which social dances are held weekly and attended by both whites and Indians.

While educational facilities exist for all the Indian children, it can hardly be said that these are adequate, since some of the children must walk five or six miles to attend school. In the severe climate of Wisconsin it is hardly surprising, therefore, that attendance is irregular. Five district schools are open to Indian children, besides the Episcopal mission school, which carries eight grades, accommodates fifty pupils and has thirteen well-qualified teachers. Regular religious instruction is part of the curriculum in this school. There are also two Roman Catholic parochial schools on the reservation, but these are intended primarily for white children and only ten Indian pupils are enrolled in them. The amount of illiteracy on the reservation is given as 15 per cent. and is steadily decreasing.

The influence of the Church in bringing the Oneida Indians to their present advanced state of civilization can hardly be overestimated. They have been under the influence of missionary efforts for more than a century. As early as 1816 the Protestant Episcopal Church established a station among the Oneidas in New York State and it was under the leadership of an Episcopal missionary, the Rev. Eleazar Williams, that the advance band of the tribe undertook its long trek to Wisconsin. The first church in the new home was erected in 1825 and constituted the first Episcopal mission in northwestern territory. Fourteen years later the early church of logs was replaced by a frame building. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century this church in turn proved too small for its growing congregation and the Indians began, in 1870, to quarry stone and hew timber for a larger building. A pathetic incident in connection with the building of this church was the fact that when the Indian congregation had saved \$3,000 to invest in it, the bank in Green Bay became insolvent and the savings were lost. The generosity of eastern friends, however, came to the rescue of the mission, the building was completed and has been the home of the mission ever since. In 1919 another calamity occurred when fire destroyed

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all the woodwork of the church. This, however, has now been repaired.

Besides the Episcopal missionaries, other pioneer workers found audiences among the Oneida Indians in an early day. Samuel Kirkland preached to them for some time before the Revolutionary War and the Methodists had established church work among the Oneidas before they left New York State. When the Orchard band moved to Wisconsin, in 1831, a Methodist mission was started for them in their new home.

These two missions, Episcopal and Methodist, continue active and valuable work. Virtually every Indian within the boundaries of the reservation has a church affiliation. Nevertheless, neither mission is yet within a measurable distance of being self-supporting and it is evident that there is need for increasing emphasis upon this feature of a healthy church organization. There is room also for a constructive social program, centering at the missions, which would offset the attraction of the weekly commercialized dances. A third need is additional emphasis upon the development and use of native leadership.

Both missions are well equipped materially. The equipment of the Episcopal mission consists of church, parish hall, rectory and hospital building, standing in ninety acres of land, of which thirty acres are under cultivation. There are 1,500 names on the roll of membership, 707 of whom are confirmed. Three services are held every Sunday, all being interpreted. The parish hall is the center of relief work which is extended to many of the Indians who find themselves in temporary need, and here, too, is a medical dispensary in charge of a trained nurse. A considerable part of the work of the resident missionary consists in visiting in the Indian homes.

The Methodist mission consists of a church with a seating capacity of 500, a parsonage and an Epworth hall. Its membership is 170, which includes seven white families. Two services are held every Sunday, the English language being used. The Sunday school has an average attendance of sixty.⁴

⁴ The Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic Church, near West Deperre, reports sixty-two members.

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CHIPPEWAS

The Chippewa Indians, now living on the four reservations ⁵ in Wisconsin, are part of the tribe made famous by Longfellow's "Hiawatha" under the tribal name of Ojibwa. The greater part of the tribe is now in Minnesota (q. v.), the representation in Wisconsin being the next largest.

The Wisconsin Chippewas were placed on four reservations following the treaty of 1854. The reservations—Lac du Flambeau, Lac Court d'Oreille, Red Cliff and Bad River—contain a total acreage of 277,038, of which 238,341 acres have been allotted. All of this is timber land but much of it has already been cut over. It is rolling in character and when cleared and under cultivation is fertile and capable of producing good crops. On two of the reservations are a number of great lakes which afford good fishing and make these regions very attractive to tourists. Railroads extend into three of the reservations, and 107 miles of road are available for automobile travel, except during winter months. Red Cliff is the most inaccessible of the four reservations.

The total Indian population of these reservations is 3,698, of whom 2,450 are citizens. There are few whites except on the Bad River reservation, where a number are employed in the sawmill at Odanah. The Indian population has remained virtually stationary for the last ten years.

The principal source of income for these Indians has been their plentiful timber. The supply is, however, almost exhausted. Only 33,000,000 feet remain standing and the contracts with the sawmills expired at the end of 1921. Except on the Red Cliff reservation, little land has been brought under cultivation, but now that the income from the timber will be cut off it is probable that progress will be made in the difficult work of clearing the land of stumps and converting it into farm land. The native industries of basket-making, bead work and work in birch bark have contributed to the economic resources of the tribe, while trapping, fishing and acting as

⁵ For Reservation Summaries, see Appendix I, § II.

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guides to tourists have also been sources of revenue. There is little poverty on any of these reservations, although during the severe winter season a few rations are issued to the old and indigent on three of them.

Considerable improvement has taken place in domestic relations during the last five years on three out of the four reservations. On these three reservations the marriage laws are uniform and Indian custom marriages are not recognized. On the Lac Court d'Oreille reservation, however, moral standards are low. Here one-half of the marriages in 1920 were by Indian custom, and forty cases of conjugal infidelity were recorded.

Living conditions are on the whole favorable for both health and morality. The homes of the Indians are, in general, good, substantial houses. In certain cases the houses were originally erected for the use of white families. Nevertheless, tuberculosis is still prevalent, affecting from 8 to 33 per cent. of the population, according to the reservation, while trachoma affects from 2 per cent. to 15 per cent. There are no hospitals on any of the reservations, but resident physicians are employed by the Government on two of them, while on the others physicians look after the general health of the Indians upon a contract basis. On one reservation a field matron is doing praiseworthy service.

Little class distinction is found upon any of the reservations and what division there is, is caused by political factions rather than by social classes. The Indians on two or three of the reservations are in daily contact with the white men and on one reservation a large number of intermarriages takes place. The Indian Society or Council is most influential in directing public opinion on three of the reservations, but on the fourth the principal influence is attributed to the Church. The position of Christians varies on the different reservations. In two of them it is felt that an Indian gains in influence on becoming a Christian if his life is consistent with his profession. On the other two reservations there is prejudice against the Christian Indians and on one of them it would be difficult to find a single outstanding Christian in the community.

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Recreation is provided by nine Indian dance-halls, three commercial halls owned by white men, two moving-picture theaters and two pool-rooms. There are band organizations and independent ball teams on two of the reservations, and at Odanah the American Legion holds meetings monthly, eighty-two Indians being members of this Post.

The old Indian dances are held at irregular but frequent intervals on three of the reservations. On one reservation the dances have increased greatly of late in popularity, partly as the result of the presence of white tourists. While the dances themselves have nothing immoral about them, they are conducive to immorality on account of the congested all-night camps which are a feature of the occasion. Formerly drunkenness was very prevalent on these reservations. The situation has been improved a good deal by prohibition, although on two reservations the problem presented by "home brew" and "moonshine" is regarded as menacing. Gambling is generally prevalent among the men on two of the reservations and to a certain extent among the women. While no commercialized prostitution exists, the moral situation on two out of the four reservations is described as "bad."

The old Indian religion and superstition still have a firm hold upon many of the older Indians, affecting perhaps 40 per cent. of the total population. On one reservation, however, the old religion has disappeared entirely and all the Indians are affiliated with the Christian Church. In general, the grip of the medicine man is relaxing with the advance of education.

Educational facilities on these reservations are provided by three Government schools—a day school on the Red Cliff reservation and boarding schools at Lac du Flambeau and at Hayward, the latter serving as the school for the Lac Court d'Oreille reservation. The Red Cliff Government school has been held for many years in two rooms rented from the Catholic mission. Only the primary grades are accredited by the Indian Office, but instruction is given in eight grades to those who wish to continue their work. The Lac du Flambeau school carries six grades and gives pre-vocational and

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industrial training. The average enrollment for 1920-21 was 153. One-third of the students are members of the Catholic Church. No Sunday school services are held, but the children attend the churches, non-Catholics going to the Presbyterian mission. An hour's religious instruction is also given during the week by the missionaries.

The Hayward school carries eight grades and has an average attendance of 198. Two-thirds of the pupils give the Roman Catholic Church as their religious preference. There is a Sunday school for Protestant pupils, but no other Protestant religious instruction during the week. A Catholic priest visits the school every other Thursday evening and conducts a class of instruction followed by mass the next morning.⁶

Among these Indians three missionary agencies are at work—the Roman Catholics, who established missions in Wisconsin in the early days;⁷ the Presbyterians, who have worked on the Lac du Flambeau reservation and also have a station at Lac Court d'Oreille, and the Methodists, with a station on the Bad River reservation.

The Presbyterian mission at Lac du Flambeau was established six years ago with a church building and a parsonage located near the Government boarding school. Services are held every Sunday morning and evening with an average attendance of thirty and forty respectively. There is a Sunday school enrollment of 125 and other organizations include a boys' and girls' club, a girls' sewing club and a Ladies Aid. The present missionary has been on the field four and a half years. The station at Lac Court d'Oreille was unoccupied at the time this survey was made.

The Odanah Methodist Episcopal mission was established in 1877 and organized its church in 1898. Home mission aid has been received since organization and prospects of self-

⁶ The Roman Catholics conduct two schools at La Pointe with enrollments of seventy-five and thirty; also a boarding school at Red Cliff with an enrollment of ten.

⁷ At the La Pointe Agency the Roman Catholics have a station, the number of adherents being given as 773. They also have one at Bayfield on Bad River Reservation. At Lac Court d'Oreille the number of Catholic Indians is given as 956.

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support are very remote. The church membership is given as 132, with eighty-five active members. Preaching services are held twice on Sunday with an average attendance of fifty in the morning and sixty in the evening. The Sunday school enrollment is seventy, with an average attendance of fifty-six. There are two women's organizations. In connection with this mission there is also a school with attendance of forty-five, of whom fifteen are boarders.

III: *Indians of Minnesota*

CHIPPEWAS

The records of the Chippewas of Minnesota, who formerly roamed over an extensive area in the region of the Great Lakes, are full of stories of warfare with their inveterate enemies, the Sioux, and of early contact with the French Canadian hunters and trappers of the Hudson Bay Company. In particular, this latter contact, which resulted in a number of intermarriages between French Canadian trappers and Chippewa brides, has left a certain amount of bad feeling between the full-blood and the half-breed Indians.

It was in the years between 1855 and 1881 that a number of Chippewa bands were finally settled upon reservations in the State of Minnesota. At the present time these reservations are seven in number⁸ and cover a total area of 1,430,942 acres, of which 878,224 acres have been allotted. The reservations, whose names are eloquently reminiscent of early trapping days, are as follows: White Earth, Grand Portage, Fond du Lac, Nett Lake (including Basswood Lake), Red Lake, Vermillion Lake and Leech Lake (including Cass Lake and White Oak Point). Of these, Vermillion Lake and Red Lake are the only two reservations that are, strictly speaking, not allotted. The character of the land is generally rolling, while the numerous lakes and forests make these reservations in northern Minnesota extraordinarily picturesque. The wild

⁸ For Reservation Summaries, see Appendix I, § III. Recently all the Chippewa reservations have been consolidated with headquarters at Cass Lake.

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and beautiful scenery, nevertheless, has its drawbacks. The absence of good roads is a serious obstacle to progress, especially on Fond du Lac reservation, where the Indians have their individual allotments but find it impossible to market any products which they may grow. Many points on these reservations cannot be reached except on foot during three or four months of the year. The lakes are used, to some extent, as waterways for communication during the summer, and in the winter the Indians cover vast distances on snow shoes.

The census of 1920 gave the Indian population of these reservations as 8,761, while the last report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs gave the total population of Minnesota Chippewas as 12,560. The difference is accounted for by the presence of a large number of mixed bloods, many of whom were classed by the census as white. It is difficult to determine with any precision how many of the Indians are citizens, but since practically all of the Chippewas in Minnesota have been allotted it would seem that a large majority must enjoy citizenship. There appears to have been little change in population during the last ten years.

Timber is plentiful upon all the Minnesota reservations, although large tracts which formerly were heavily timbered have either been cut over or devastated by forest fires. The Fond du Lac reservation was in the path of the disastrous fire which in 1919 swept over a part of northern Minnesota. The Indians are permitted to use the proceeds from timber sales for their support while clearing their allotments for agricultural purposes. By the sale of tribal lands after allotments were made a tribal fund of \$6,000,000 has been accumulated which is held in trust by the Government, and a certain amount of this sum is reimbursable to the United States annually for the support of Indian agencies and schools on the respective reservations.

Where the land has been sufficiently cleared, farming is carried on and small grains and alfalfa are raised, but in the main the Chippewa Indians still practice their ancestral pursuits of hunting, trapping and fishing. A large number also are engaged in sawmills and logging camps, while the experienced

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woodsmen hire themselves out as guides to hunters and tourists. The Indians have horses for their own use and a few cattle, but there is little stock-raising on the reservations. Bead work and the making of baskets and of birch-bark canoes are among the other native industries, which employ some 700 persons. A few of the women are engaged in lace-making. Upon the whole the Minnesota Chippewas are fairly prosperous and there is little poverty. Rations were distributed to 1,081, according to the report for 1920 of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but the majority of those receiving rations were the old and decrepit. The tribal resources of the Indians would be greater were it not for the customary exploitation which they have suffered in the sale of their timber tracts, for which they have rarely received more than 25 per cent. of the actual value.

It is perhaps hardly surprising to find that a large number of full-blood Chippewas are confirmed praisers of the past. Half a century ago, they tell the visitors, theirs was a care-free life. Wild rice was to be had for the gathering. They could fish in summer and hunt in winter. They could pick berries, make maple sugar and cut unlimited fuel at the doors of their wigwams. They were far removed from the white man and his vices. Living a hardy life in the open air, despite the winter temperature of forty below zero, they were free from the ravages of tuberculosis. The old life, all the freer and finer in retrospect, is contrasted favorably with the present. With the assignment of the Indians to reservations came the building of one-room cabins, hot and unventilated, and a diet consisting largely of salt pork and heavy bread. There came also the "firewater" of the white man, less commonly used now than before the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, but still fairly prevalent in the form of "home brew," patent medicines and imported "hooch" from Canada. The new mode of life brought in its train the inevitable concomitant of tuberculosis. At the present time from 15 to 20 per cent. of the Minnesota Chippewas are afflicted with this disease, and a somewhat lower percentage suffers from trachoma.

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Health conditions have, however, improved in recent years. Hospital facilities are available on four reservations as well as Government physicians and nurses. Efforts have also been made to improve housing conditions and more sanitary and modern houses are being built to replace the old one-room log cabins. It is estimated that at the present time not more than 25 to 30 per cent. of the Indians live in one-room houses.

The domestic and social conditions of the Chippewas have shown some improvement of recent years. On most of the reservations marriage by law is the rule, only a small percentage of Indian custom marriages still being noted. Separations are less frequent also than on many reservations and the legal complications incident to obtaining divorces operate as an automatic bar to this form of marital separation. Reports from five of the reservations indicate that the position of women has considerably improved during the last twenty-five years. On two others their condition has remained practically unchanged. The old feud, as has been noted, is still existent between full bloods and mixed bloods and on the Nett Lake reservation there appears to be an invidious distinction between Christians and pagans. Intermarriage with other tribes is rare, but intermarriage with white people, especially in the case of the half-breeds, is comparatively frequent. There is among the whites of Minnesota a certain amount of prejudice against the Indians, which dates from the Sioux uprising of 1862, but at the present time this prejudice is manifested only in social distinctions and a certain lack of sympathy with Indian problems. The tribal council appears to be the agency having the most influence upon public opinion on four reservations, with the schools and churches coming second and third.

Indian baseball, fall fairs, a farmers' club and a brass band are among the agencies which minister to the recreational life of the Minnesota Chippewas. There are also twenty-three dance-halls on the reservations, and moving-picture theaters and pool-rooms abound in the nearby towns of Mahanomen, Detroit and Ogema. Indian dances are held on the reservations with varying frequency, and although the environment

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of these dances is not as bad as it used to be, it is reported that a considerable amount of drinking goes on and a good deal of immorality results. The peyote cult has been introduced on two of the reservations, Red Lake and Leech Lake. On the former it failed to obtain any hold, but on the latter the cult is organized and both men and women are admitted to the meetings. There are twelve families addicted to the use of the drug.

In many parts the old Indian religion and superstitions still have a firm hold, 80 to 90 per cent. of the population on two reservations being under their influence. The medicine man continues to be called in by the older people in cases of sickness, but his influence is noticeably on the wane.

For the educational needs of these reservations eleven Government schools are provided, two of them being Roman Catholic schools on contract with the Government. There are 3,969 children of school age on the reservations, while the total capacity of the schools at the time the survey was made was 691. This means that 3,277 children are in non-reservation schools, public or private, or in none at all. The number of children without school facilities is conservatively estimated as being equal to the number who attend the eleven Government schools.

Of the five Government day schools two have been closed since this survey was made. The day schools carried the first three grades only and the religious affiliations of the pupils showed 52 Protestant Episcopal, 19 Roman Catholic, 6 pagan and 5 unattached. Three of these schools were on White Earth, one on Nett Lake and one on Grand Portage.

The four Government boarding schools are located at Red Lake, Cass Lake, Cross Lake and Leech Lake. Their combined enrollment for the year 1919-20 was 328. Red Lake school, which carries the first six grades, has an enrollment of eighty-seven—forty-four Episcopalians and forty-three Roman Catholics. Protestant pupils attend the Episcopal church every week where a Sunday school is conducted. The Roman Catholic priest holds a class of instruction during the week. An undenominational assembly is held on Sunday eve-

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nings with the principal in charge. At Cross Lake school the enrollment is eighty-five, all pagans. A Sunday school is conducted by one of the teachers in the school and a great opportunity is offered here for constructive work. The school officials express their willingness to set aside two hours a week for religious instruction. At Cass Lake school the enrollment is sixty-five. The school was originally under the auspices of the Episcopal church but has been taken over by the Government. Its program is similar to that of the schools mentioned above. The Leech Lake school has an enrollment of eighty-five pupils. An Episcopal Sunday school is conducted for the benefit of the Protestants, with a church service in the Chippewa language. The children of pagans may choose whether to come under the Catholic or Protestant instruction.

The early history of missionary effort among the Chippewas forms in itself a romantic chapter. The Roman Catholics established contact with these Indians as early as the seventeenth century, and the first French trading post was established in Minnesota, on Grand Portage Bay, about the year 1700. The Jesuit missionaries who came into the region at this time did not, however, prosecute their work, and it remained for Father Baraga to lay the foundations of the present Roman Catholic mission work in the 'thirties of the last century. In many respects the work of Father Baraga, religiously as well as linguistically, was as epoch-making as was that of Dr. Riggs and Dr. Williamson among the Sioux.

The history of Protestant missions among the Chippewas is replete with venerated names. Frederick Ayer, at the request of the principal trader, Lyman N. Warren, established a school for Indian children on the island of St. Michael as early as 1830. In 1833 the first Protestant mission station west of Lake Superior was established at Leech Lake by the Rev. Sherman Paul and his Dartmouth classmate, Rev. James Boutwell. The Episcopal mission among the Minnesota Chippewas was begun in 1852 by Dr. James Lloyd Breck at Gull Lake, and with the consecration, as first bishop of Minnesota, of Henry B. Whipple, an impetus was given to this work which has lasted until the present time. The name of Arch-

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deacon Joseph A. Gilfillan is venerated on account of his twenty-five years of devoted service in northern Minnesota, years in which splendid schoolhouses, missions and chapels were built, largely at the Archdeacon's own expense, at Pine Point, White Earth and Twin Lakes. Ardent co-workers of Archdeacon Gilfillan were the Rev. Charles Wright, Rev. George Morgan and Rev. Mark Hart, two of whom are still in this field. While the first church among the Minnesota Chippewas was organized in 1852 and the last in 1919, the most prosperous period of church development came between the years 1871 and 1893, when the pioneer missionaries of the Episcopal Church were giving themselves with unselfish devotion to evangelistic work among these Indians.⁹

At the present time there are twelve organized Protestant churches and one mission station which is not organized upon these reservations. On the Grand Portage reservation the Roman Catholics are alone in the field and at Fond du Lac, although the Methodists carry on a work of an itinerant character, the Roman Catholics claim 95 per cent. of the Indians as baptized adherents. Episcopalians are the only Protestant forces in the field on the White Earth, Red Lake and Leech Lake reservations, with the exception of a small Methodist mission at Mille Lac. The distribution of churches by reservations and denominations is as follows:

RESERVATION	DENOMINATION	NUMBER
White Earth	Protestant Episcopal	5
(including Mille Lac)	Methodist Episcopal (Mille Lac)	1
Red Lake	Protestant Episcopal	2
Leech Lake	Protestant Episcopal	3
Nett Lake	Methodist Episcopal	1
Fond du Lac	Methodist Episcopal	1
Vermillion Lake	(No church report)	
Grand Portage	(No church report)	
Total .....	.....	13

⁹ The number of Roman Catholic adherents at Vermillion Lake and Red Lake is given as 790, and at three stations in the White Earth country as 2,639.

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All but one of these churches are reported as being in good or fair condition. Their total seating capacity is given as 1,265. The total membership of eleven churches reporting is 487, or an average of forty-eight per congregation. Five churches have parsonages. Three report other buildings used for church and community purposes. The total valuation of churches, parsonages and land is \$52,025.

In charge of these churches are ten native pastors.¹⁰ A number of these men have served their charges for a period of from ten to forty years, and one has been in his parish on Red Lake for forty-two years. Three pastors follow other occupations besides the ministry, and all but three live in the same parish. Three are graduates of a seminary, but the rest, with one exception, report no special training for the ministry. The highest salary paid to any of these devoted men, many of whom have long distances to cover, often on foot, is \$960 a year, while the average salary of the seven pastors without other occupations is \$585.

It implies no reflection upon the zeal and earnestness of the native pastors to state that in general this field is not efficiently administered. The net gain in membership of ten churches reporting for the last year was two, which in itself is evidence of the urgent need of a revitalizing of the church life. The first step in this direction undoubtedly would be a better salaried, a better trained and a better supervised pastorate, while attention should also be paid to remedying the lack of resident ministers on two of the reservations.

The general church program is far from meeting the needs of the situation. Services are held as frequently and as regularly as is humanly possible. Eight churches hold four services a month; three churches hold two services a month; one church holds service every two months and one holds meetings occasionally. In other respects, however, the church program is far from adequate. Only six churches report Sunday

¹⁰ There is also a woman missionary of the Episcopal church on the Red Lake reservation who has been among the Chippewas for thirty years and who is responsible for invaluable work among the women and children.

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schools, with a total enrollment of 266 and an average attendance of half the enrollment. There are also eight other organizations, all women's, within the churches, with a total enrollment of 150 and an average attendance of fifty-three. The average church attendance is twenty-four. None of the churches are self-supporting, all receiving home mission aid. In view of the fact that many of the churches have been established for half a century the lack of self-support or any prospect of it cannot but be significant. Apparently little effort is made to emphasize any recreational or social features in the church program and a great opportunity is here presented for work along the same lines as are recommended in the case of the Rosebud reservation in South Dakota.¹¹

Above all is the outstanding fact that 1,400 Indians on these reservations are still classed as pagans. Here is a clear challenge, not only to renewed effort on the part of the individual organizations at work in the field, but to a coöperative arrangement among those organizations which should enable them to view the task as a whole and determine in common the measures that need to be taken to meet the urgent problems which Christianity is called upon to solve among the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota.

BIRCH COOLEY BAND

Under the Pipestone School supervision there are 418 Mdewakanton Sioux, commonly known as Birch Cooley Sioux, scattered over the southern part of Minnesota, with the largest settlement at Morton.¹² The 1920 census credits Morton with 105 Indians, thirty-one of whom have allotments, while seventy-four are unallotted. Land is assigned to those who desire and are willing to work it, in tracts of

¹¹ See Ch. XI, § IV, Rosebud.

¹² The rest of the Indian population is scattered, the estimated grouping being as follows:

One hundred in St. Paul on Front Street, engaged in labor, and served by the Catholic Church at Mendota; eighteen at Shakopee, north of St. Paul; seven families on Prairie Island at Eggleston, where there is an Episcopal church with thirty-six members, services being held once a month; sixty-five at Granite Falls.

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from seventeen to twenty-five acres. Failure to cultivate the land causes a change in tenants. The largest farms in the community are of forty-five and fifty acres. Small grains and potatoes are the chief products. Outside of farming, the principal occupations are construction work on the railroad and miscellaneous labor. There are no native industries. No rations are issued, and there is no actual poverty. According to the records all these Indians read and write English and all are citizens with restrictions, although only one is actually recorded as a citizen of the United States. There have been no Indian dances in the last two years, and there are no distinctive Indian gatherings.

The children attend white district schools, none of which is farther distant from the Morton High School than two miles. There is very little marrying between tribes or with whites. No race prejudice is expressed by whites or Indians, and they intermingle without distinction. A full-blooded Indian was elected Clerk of Schools in 1922. Housing conditions are good, and would tend to foster morality.

An Episcopal mission, superintended by a woman missionary, has been operating at Morton for twenty-three years. The recorded membership is 100. A distinctive feature has been the fostering of the lace-work industry and the spirit of community life.

CHAPTER X

INDIAN TERRITORY

I: *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma*

The Five Civilized Tribes present a problem entirely different from that of the Indian people on the average reservation. Their name is derived from the five so-called nations, namely, the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles, whose original habitat was in the southeastern states. The term "civilized" came into general use after the removal of the five tribes to Indian Territory in 1832 and the following years, and was applied to them because, to a far greater extent than other tribes, they had adopted a civilized mode of life. They differed also from other tribes in that their holdings, instead of consisting of reserved public land, were given to them in exchange for lands elsewhere and were for many years held tribally by patents or deeds in fee simple. The Cherokees so received title to their lands in 1838; the Choctaws in 1842; the Creeks in 1852; while the Chickasaws received their title from the Choctaws and the Seminoles from the Creeks.

The decision of the Government to transfer these Indian tribes west of the Mississippi to what is now eastern Oklahoma was in the nature of an experiment. Public sentiment insisted that the solution of the Indian problem was to be found in segregation. With the Indians thus isolated, it was felt that they would have full and free opportunity to work out their destiny for themselves, untrammelled by white domination or influence. The Five Tribes formed, therefore, a kind of confederacy and established tribal governments which were modeled, partially at least, on the form of government of the United States. In time, chiefs or governors were appointed to the National Council or Legislature, but owing to

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the Indians' superficial knowledge of the intricacies of democratic practice, the governors were inclined to assume the rôle of the old-time chief, and the legislatures became merely tribal councils. The original limits of Indian Territory consisted of 19,475,614 acres, or about 30,431 square miles, almost the size of the New England states with Maine omitted.

During the Civil War many of the Indians, especially among the Cherokees, espoused the cause of the Confederacy, and their lands were overrun by both armies. Following 1866, many of the guerilla bands from both armies, and not a few outlaws from other states, drifted into Indian Territory, which soon became the rendezvous of lawless elements.

In 1893 Congress took steps looking to ultimate statehood for the Territory and appointed the famous Dawes Commission. The great task before this Commission was the allotment of lands to all the Indians of the Five Tribes. Claimants to the number of 200,000 appeared from all parts of the United States, but with the closing of the rolls in 1906, at which date tribal government was also to come to an end, 90,000 individuals had received allotments, and with them the privilege of citizenship.¹ Statehood for Oklahoma followed, November 16, 1907, and Indian Territory was included in this new state.

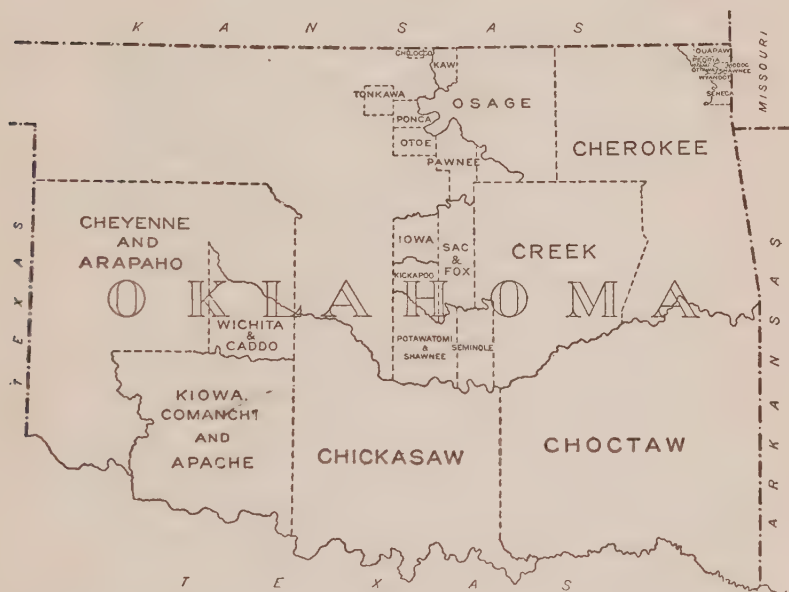
Steady Assimilation

The tribal affairs of the Cherokee nation were virtually wound up June 30, 1914, and by now all the allotments of the

¹ The membership of the tribes at the time the rolls were closed, in 1906, was a little more than 101,000. Included among these were a number of negroes, termed "freedmen," some of whom were descendants of the old slaves formerly owned by the Indians. More than 10,000 were of one-half blood or less than full-blood, and there was also a number of whites who had intermarried with Indians. According to the 1921 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, these tribes have now a total population of 101,506, of which 26,774 are full bloods, and 40,934 half or less. The population by tribes, or nations, is as follows: *Cherokee Nation*, 41,824—by blood, 36,432; by intermarriage, 286; *Delawares*, 187; *Freedmen*, 4,919. *Chickasaw Nation*, 10,966—by blood, 5,659; by intermarriage, 645; *Freedmen*, 4,662. *Choctaw Nation*, 26,828—by blood, 17,488; by intermarriage, 1,651; *Mississippi Choctaw*, 1,600; *Freedmen*, 6,029. *Creek Nation*, 18,761—by blood, 11,952; *Freedmen*, 6,809. *Seminole Nation*, 3,127—by blood, 2,141; *Freedmen*, 986. *Total*, 101,506.

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Creek and Seminole nations also have been completed and members have received their pro rata share of the tribal funds. Settlement of the tribal affairs of the Chickasaws and Choctaws has, however, been held up as a result of the discovery in their country of rich coal, petroleum and asphalt deposits, which cover an area of some 500,000 acres and have a value vari-



OKLAHOMA, SHOWING LOCATION OF TRIBES AND FORMER RESERVATIONS

Oklahoma has one-third of the entire Indian population of Continental United States

ously estimated at from \$12,000,000 to \$35,000,000. These rich lands have been segregated and are leased from year to year for mining purposes. A considerable acreage has been sold, but 424 tracts, covering 379,284 acres, still remain unsold and the tribal affairs of the Chickasaws and Choctaws cannot for the present be finally disposed of. The policy of the Government is, however, to wind up tribal affairs and also

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to reduce the number of restricted Indians² as rapidly as is consistent with the safeguarding of the Indians' own interests.

To-day distinctively Indian communities have practically disappeared from this section of Oklahoma. Everywhere members of the Five Tribes are living upon their allotments, surrounded by white neighbors with whom they are beginning to mix on equal terms. The development of the oil lands in the Chickasaw, Seminole and Creek country, and of the valuable farming and coal lands among the Choctaws, has resulted in the physical condition of the Indian's property becoming indistinguishable from that of the white man. The Cherokees have been less favored financially than their neighbors and are said to be the poorest of the Five Tribes. Possibly, however, for that very reason, they are more aggressive, displaying a high standard of intelligence. The poverty of their land has tended to drive them out to the white man's towns and settlements and a competition has resulted that is wholesome for all concerned.

Racial lines among these tribes are becoming progressively less distinct. Intermarriage occurs frequently between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and to a somewhat less extent, between the Creeks and Seminoles. The Chickasaw Nation has really passed the point where it can be referred to as a tribe. The absorption of these people into the white com-

² It is important to bear in mind the distinction between the so-called "restricted" and "unrestricted" Indians. At the time allotment was made, the members of the various tribes each received a certain portion of land, usually forty acres, as a homestead, the balance allotted varying from 100 to 300 additional acres, while the residue of the tribal property was offered for sale. To safeguard the Indian from exploitation as well as from his own lack of experience in managing his affairs, it was necessary for the Government to assume the functions of a guardian and to place restrictions upon the alienation of all or any portion of his allotment and homestead. Such restrictions apply only to the land and run with its title rather than with the individual, since in Oklahoma all Indians have now received the privilege of the ballot. Hence an Indian may still be "restricted" although a full citizen. Indians of less than one-half blood have no restriction upon the sale of any portion of their allotment or homestead and are therefore known as "unrestricted." In 1920 there were 37,200 restricted Indians among the Five Tribes, distributed as follows: Cherokee, 13,481; Creek, 8,556; Seminole, 1,732; Choctaw, 10,970; Chickasaw, 2,481. The number of restricted Indians is continually being reduced by competency commissions.

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munities in which they live has proceeded rapidly and will soon be complete. Among the Choctaws a stronger tribal feeling persists, due, no doubt, to their more isolated situation and to the fact that their contacts are generally with what may be classed as the pioneer type—prospectors, miners and woodsmen. Surfaced roads and railroads make the Chickasaw country accessible and have contributed to its development. In the Choctaw country, on the other hand, except in the extreme western section, it is difficult to make more than two or three points a day on the railroad and the surfaced roads are few in number.

A strong tribal consciousness also characterizes the Cherokees, as is illustrated by the fact that fewer cases of intermarriage with negroes occur in this tribe than among the Creeks and Seminoles. The last two have common traits, but in general the Creeks may be said to rank somewhat above the Seminoles. The former show considerable independence and initiative in the development of their religious life, while the Seminoles are more narrow and self-conscious. Their churches, for instance, will not exchange memberships with the churches of other tribes even in the same denomination. They have also several independent churches, known as “non-affiliated,” but really Baptist in doctrine.

Except for the fourteen or fifteen Government field offices, where are stationed the district clerks, and the Union Agency at Muskogee, which handles some 18,000 individual accounts, there is little outward evidence at the present time of the relationship which still exists between the Five Tribes and the Federal Government. The supervision that is still exercised is, however, not only real but very necessary and can only be relinquished by gradual stages. The territory of the Five Tribes has become, in the light of recent mineral discoveries, almost literally a land “flowing with milk and honey,” and on that account is exposed to the cupidity of unscrupulous persons of all races. The Government field clerks occupy, with considerable credit, the position of “best friend” to the restricted Indian, standing both between him and the avaricious white man, and between the restricted and the unre-

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stricted Indian. Where the field clerk has an intimate knowledge of his district he is able also to give aid and encouragement to the Indians, not only on the industrial but also on the social and moral side.

Naturally, Governmental supervision is resented by a certain number of the Indians. The "Snake Indians" and the "Nighthawks" (the latter among the Cherokees)³ are composed of those who have a grievance of some kind against the Government. In some instances the old Indian ceremonials and dances have been revived in an effort to appeal to the older people. The Government, they are told, is to be forced gradually to relinquish its control, and tribal governments are to be reëstablished. In many ways the Snake and Nighthawk movements show a striking similarity to the peyote societies on western reservations, capitalizing the discontent of the Indians against Governmental agencies and denominational leadership. The eventual elimination of a restricted class of Indians and their full absorption into the body politic is the goal toward which the Government is working through the so-called Competency Commissions. These commissions hold hearings and render decisions as to the ability of individual Indians to manage their own affairs and their fitness to pass from the restricted to the unrestricted class. At these hearings the recommendation of the field clerk often carries great weight, since he usually knows his district intimately and is qualified to give an unprejudiced opinion as to the merits of each individual case.

Land Problems

One of the most perplexing land problems among the Five Tribes is that which pertains to leasing and renting, the distinction between the two being a matter of the time involved. Leases are made with the Government's consent for a term of five years, the Government collecting the lease money and

³ Among the Nighthawk Cherokees, living between Fort Gibson and Salisaw, are between 3,000 and 4,000 who are beyond the pale of Christian influence, with no church at work among them.

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ousting those who fail to pay. The restricted Indian is, however, allowed to rent his land from year to year—a permission which, in view of the often unfortunate results, should be revoked. In hundreds of cases unscrupulous white men, after an initial payment, have refused, on one pretext or another, to make further remittances, and continue to live indefinitely rent free on the lands of Indians.

The fundamental question in connection with the Indian land problem is whether the Indian is to have a place that he can call home or whether he is to be allowed to become a “nester,” that is, one who leads a gypsy-like existence, moving from place to place in a wagon and picking up casual employment. The Indian has land to-day. State and Federal authorities should see to it that forty acres of every Indian's allotment are made inalienable by sale or otherwise until such time as the Indian shall have had an opportunity to become an established member of the community. It may be accurate to speak of farming as the main occupation of the Indians of the Five Tribes, but the fact remains that only 250,000 acres are cultivated by the Indians themselves. The balance of tillable soil is in the hands of renters or lessees. This fact alone adds to the significance of the recommendation that a certain amount of the Indian's homestead be reserved as inalienable and the residue sold for improvements or for the purpose of acquiring adjacent good land.

No section of the land occupied by the Five Tribes is outside a regular county organization. This means that the Indian is rapidly becoming an integral part of the white community near which he lives. It is true that the restricted Indian, because of his status with the Federal Government, is often ignored in matters of State and county organization, but as his position improves there is no reason why he should not take his place like a white man, in the civic life of the community. Many of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, especially those living in the western section of their territory, already hold conspicuous positions of honor and trust, a number serving as county officials, members of school boards, and leaders in professional life.

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It is not surprising to find that there is no distinctly organized social life for the restricted Indian. He is not recognized as on the same social plane as the average white and therefore enjoys little or no social contact with the neighboring white communities. There are, of course, exceptions, as when whites and Indians join in community singing in the schools. It is distressing to find, however, that up to the present the churches of the Five Tribes have taken no responsibility for instituting a wholesome social life for the young people. This situation will be spoken of in another connection. Meanwhile, one is struck by the absence of such organizations as corn clubs, pig clubs, Boy Scouts, farm granges, girls' clubs, etc., which are common in ordinary white communities.

Health and Housing

Health conditions among the Indians of the Five Tribes are on the whole less serious than might be expected from the fact that they have officially received no medical attention. The whole environment of the restricted class tends, however, to lower vitality and stamina. Patent medicines are in demand. Quack doctors, who charge a low fee, and often "herb doctors" and "Indian doctors" are called in. As a natural consequence, disease is often not recognized until it reaches an acute stage. Then, if the Indian has no money with which to pay for hospital treatment, the disease generally drives him to the Government officials, upon whose advice he submits to being sent to some distant sanatorium for treatment. The need of an adequate hospital program is further emphasized by the fact that the Choctaw-Chickasaw Hospital, at Talihina, is the only one expressly open to Indians.⁴ This hospital is serving its purpose up to the limit of its capacity and means, but its situation and limited equipment make it entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the case. No better means of preserving the health and building up the general resistance of

⁴ See Appendix II, § II.

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the Five Tribes could be found than the provision, by the Federal authorities and the Church, of trained field matrons, preferably women of Indian blood, to visit the homes. There are a few wealthy Indians in the Five Tribes who could afford to give sufficient sums to finance such a plan.

While there is little evidence of dire poverty, the standard of living, especially among the Indians of the more isolated sections, is on a low plane. A decided improvement has taken place in housing conditions and there is less crowding than formerly. One- or two-room shacks are still too frequently seen, but the old log cabin type has given way in many instances to modern frame dwellings of three or four rooms.

In general, the leasing habit has not been conducive to thrift and more often than not credit is sought for purchasing provisions in the village stores. The recent legend of the "rich Indian" is a gross exaggeration. Among the Creeks, where oil has been discovered, are a number of Indians who live in comparative luxury, but the percentage of these is relatively small. Indeed, a former superintendent of the Union Agency is responsible for the statement that no more than one hundred adults of the Five Civilized Tribes are receiving an income from royalties exceeding \$3,000 a year. Possibly not more than a score of these can rightly be termed "rich Indians."

The eastern section of the Choctaw country is the rendezvous of the moonshiner, and here, too, home brew is made. As a rule, however, the Five Tribes have not been as addicted to the use of alcoholic beverages as the so-called "plains Indians" or "blanket Indians" of the West. More recently the use of snuff has come into prominence. Gambling is not practiced to any great extent. Commercial prostitution is negligible, but general immorality is too common.

Education

Since county organization ⁵ has made marked progress in what was formerly Indian Territory, numerous district schools

⁵ Former Indian Territory is divided into forty counties.

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are open to the Indian children. Nevertheless, in the Spavinaw Hills district of the Cherokee country and the mountainous regions of the Choctaw country, many hundreds of Indian children are without adequate school facilities. Members of the Snake and Nighthawk societies are opposed to sending their children to school, but in general parents show anxiety to have their children educated. While public school facilities are available in many districts, the attendance of Indian children receives no marked encouragement from the white people. This is especially true of the restricted Indian whose inability to provide adequate clothing and other necessities makes his children seem undesirable associates for the white children. In the more enlightened districts the attendance of Indian children in public schools is very satisfactory and in not a few communities Indians are serving on school boards and some are teachers.⁶

In the early days of the Territory, mission schools were established, especially by the Presbyterians. At one time there were as many as twenty such schools, both day and boarding, doing effective work. Ten or twelve, known as Tribal Schools, were maintained from tribal funds. With the resumption of Government supervision in the 'nineties, these schools were turned over to the Government. At the present time they are generally filled to capacity. They afford opportunity to any Indian young people, who desire additional education, to prepare for entrance into the highschoools in adjoining towns or the larger non-reservation schools.⁷

Only four distinctively Protestant mission schools remain. Two of these are under the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., one is Baptist, and the fourth Lutheran. A part of the Dwight School, maintained by the Women's Board of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., was burned a number of years ago and was only reopened in 1922. Recently the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, established at Smithville a school, known as

⁶ At the Murray State School of Agriculture, Tishomingo, ninety-four Chickasaw and Choctaw students are enrolled. These pupils are contracted for by special arrangement with State school authorities.

⁷ For summary of the Tribal Schools, see Appendix II, § II.

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the Willis Folsom Training School, for both whites and Indians. This is a \$100,000 plant, carries grades from six to twelve, and during the year 1921 had fifty pupils in attendance.

Bacone College, located at Muskogee and maintained by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, was first established in Tahlequah in 1879, and removed to Bacone, near Muskogee, in 1886. Its primary objective is the training of native teachers and preachers for more effective work among the Indian tribes. In connection with this institution there is also an orphanage with some sixty or seventy children. During 1920-21 Bacone had an enrollment of 259, 141 boys and 118 girls. In addition to the common school grades, a highschool course is also carried. Daily chapel exercises are held. There is also an organized church in connection with the school with a membership of 173. A strong Sunday school is held at the college with twenty classes and an enrollment of 224. Recently marked improvement in equipment and buildings has been made possible through the donations of wealthy Indians belonging to the Five Tribes. These have also placed the institute on an endowment basis. Bacone has already sent forth many capable young people who are doing commendable work in various parts of the Indian country. Most of the students enrolled come from the Five Tribes, although a number now come from western Oklahoma and the western states. It is felt that the curriculum would be greatly strengthened by the introduction of a systematic course of vocational training as well as distinctive courses looking toward the ministry and Christian callings. The industrial feature, which is a part of Mount Hermon and Hampton Institute, would prove to be a real incentive to students now enrolled at this institution and help to strengthen the *esprit de corps* of teachers and pupils alike.

Old Goodland School, located near Hugo, Oklahoma, is under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. It was founded in 1845 as an orphanage, but was closed during the Civil War and not opened again until 1894, when Rev. Silas Bacon and Rev. J. P. Gibbons, the latter a white missionary, took charge. In 1902 the Government gave a small amount for boarding pupils, who now number eighty-seven. The Indians donated land for the school. At present there are three buildings, two dormitories and an academic building. The first eight grades are carried. During the past ten years the school has been hampered by inadequate teaching, personnel and equipment. The curriculum has not been up to standard and in many cases the pupils who graduated and entered other schools found themselves forced to go back a grade. The spirit of the school has always

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been fine, as evidenced in the devoted work of its native superintendent.

Oklahoma Presbyterian College, located at Durant, was founded in 1894. It is now a synodical school where both white and Indian girls are enrolled. It has good buildings and a curriculum corresponding to that of a Junior College. The annual enrollment is 135, about eighty of whom are boarding students. Fifty Indian girls are enrolled. Bible study is a part of the curriculum.

The Danish Lutheran Mission at Oaks, in the Cherokee country, has maintained a school since 1892. The first nine grades are carried. The enrollment in 1920 was 111, fifty-two boys and fifty-nine girls. There are three instructors. A fine Christian atmosphere pervades the institution. This school has a distinctive place to fill because of its location and the type of Indian being reached.

Roman Catholic Work

While the Five Tribes as a whole are strongly Protestant, limited work is carried on by the Roman Catholics, largely educational in its nature. This work was inaugurated by the late Monsignor W. H. Ketcham shortly after 1893. To-day there are some ten or twelve Roman Catholic churches among the Five Tribes, with 1,000 adherents. The following Roman Catholic Contract Schools are now maintained in the Five Tribes country: St. Agnes' Mission, Antlers, enrollment seventy-one; St. Agnes' Academy, Ardmore, enrollment 127; St. Elizabeth's, Purcell, enrollment fifty-five; and St. Joseph's, Chickasaw, enrollment twenty-six. There are also the Sacred Heart Institute of Vinita, enrollment fifty-four, and St. Joseph's College, Muskogee, enrollment thirty-six. In addition to educational work, the Roman Catholics have laid emphasis on translation and their catechism is available in the Choctaw language.

Early Missions

The history of Christian missions among the people of the Five Tribes presents a gap of some 200 years—a sort of Dark Age. Relatively little can now be told of the progress of Christianity among these people during the years between 1540, when De Soto first carried the Cross among them, and

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another historical Fourth of July, in 1773, when "the missionaries in Schoenbrunn had the joy to baptize the firstlings of the Cherokee Nation, a man and his wife." This passage is taken from an old history, printed in 1794, by George Henry Loskiel, entitled "The History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America." We know from this and other sources that the Moravians had no small part in carrying forward the work of Christianization. As early as 1735 Moravian missionaries were sent to Georgia to labor among the Creeks, and attempts seem to have been made to extend the work to the Cherokees. These early efforts were, however, interrupted by the War of the Revolution, in which the Indians became involved, some on one side and some on the other.

It is certain, at any rate, that the foundations of Christianity among the Cherokees were well and soundly laid even before Sequoyah, by his famous invention of the Cherokee alphabet of eighty-six characters, in 1821, enabled portions of the Scriptures to be translated into the Indian tongue. From the beginning of the nineteenth century the connected history of missionary work among these tribes may be traced with comparative ease. In 1804 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church sent out its first missionary, Gideon Blackburn, among the Cherokees. In 1812 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized and by 1816 had sent into the field Cyrus Kingsbury, who, with the assistance of President Madison, and upon the urgent representations of the Cherokee chief, established the first school among these people. The site for this school was called Brainerd and later became known as Missionary Ridge.⁸

The Chickasaws and Choctaws were eager to share the benefits conferred by the American Board upon their Cherokee neighbors and in 1819 a Bible School was opened among the Choctaws, the Indians themselves contributing towards its support. The Baptists had already entered the field in 1817, their first missionary being the Rev. Humphrey Posey, who worked

⁸ Since become famous because of the great battle fought there during the Civil War.

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among the Cherokees, and later, in 1822, the Baptists extended their work to the Creeks.

By 1825 it was possible to refer definitely to the Cherokees as a "Christian Nation." In the War Department report of that year, written by Thomas L. McKenney, we read: "The Christian religion is the religion of the Nation. Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Moravians are the most numerous sects. Some of the most influential characters are members of the Church and live consistently with their professions. The whole nation is penetrated with gratitude for the aid it has received from the United States Government and from different religious societies."⁹

All this was before the removal of the Five Tribes to Indian Territory. After the migration west, the Rev. Isaac McCoy, the great pioneer missionary to the northern and other Indians, helped to establish the first Baptist church in Indian Territory fifteen miles west of Fort Gibson, in 1832. By 1843 the Baptists had also an organized church of eighty-three members among the Choctaws, with two native ministers and a school of twenty pupils.

The general work of the Methodists among the Five Tribes began about 1835 with the establishment of a Cherokee mission, which, ten years later, was able to report a membership of 1,300. As early as 1825, however, the Mississippi Methodist Conference had started a mission among the Choctaws which, three years before the general work began, reported 4,000 members. The Seminoles had to wait for missions until 1852, when the Presbyterians began work among them.

By this time troublous days were approaching. The middle years of the last century were difficult ones for the missionaries from the north with their abolitionist doctrines, and not less puzzling for the Indians, who found new hardships added to those already endured. With the outbreak of the Civil War missions and tribes were broken up.¹⁰ Many of the mis-

⁹ See also under Eastern Cherokees, Ch. VIII, § I.

¹⁰ Half the Seminoles chose to remain loyal to the Union and fled to Kansas with their wives, children, stock and all else they could carry. The missionaries and the other half were mustered as soldiers of the Confederate Army and their families became refugees.

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sionaries were forced to flee and for a long time little progress was reported in the work. Changes were taking place among the church organizations. Home missionary societies were being formed, the work of the American Board was transferred entirely to the Presbyterian societies, North and South, and a division of the work was made. Gradually the southern branches of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches took over the greater share of the mission stations. Many native churches were organized and leaders with more or less training were appointed. In many instances the close supervision which had previously been exercised was withdrawn. Such churches found themselves somewhat in the position of the native churches in Hawaii, where missionary support and supervision were withdrawn prematurely and the churches left to shift for themselves.

Church Life To-day

To understand the present situation among the churches of the Five Tribes the approach must be made with sympathy and full appreciation of the rich heritage of the past, but with an open mind, conscious of the difficult period of readjustment through which the churches are now passing. Such an understanding will call forth a generous tribute to the devoted work of the native pastors, to their efforts to pass on to the present generation the fruits of the past, and to their search after methods which will be applicable to present-day changes and conditions.

The following denominations, in addition to the Roman Catholics, are at work among the Five Tribes: Presbyterian U. S. A., Presbyterian U. S., Cumberland Presbyterian, Baptist (South), Methodist Episcopal (South), Evangelical Danish Lutheran (one station among the Cherokee nation).¹¹

With one or two exceptions, the churches are all rural. Mention has already been made of the comparative isolation of many of them, especially those of the restricted Indians. Because of the condition of the roads, or lack of roads, inac-

¹¹ Denominational statistical reports are found in Appendix III.

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cessibility is a real problem. Perhaps this very condition has led to the building of so many small churches and to overlapping parishes. In the membership the full bloods predominate, although among the Southern Presbyterian churches there is a mixed membership composed of both Indians and whites.

The native language is used almost entirely in these churches, although efforts are now being made in a few to have the Sunday evening service in English for the benefit of the young people who do not readily understand the native tongue. The church buildings and equipment reflect the period in which they were constructed, for practically all are of the one-room type, and many are log structures. A distinctive feature of many of the Five Tribes churches is, however, the arbors, built adjoining the church for housing the meetings, especially in the summer time. In not a few instances the cost of the arbors exceeds that of the church buildings.

Many of the native churches are self-supporting, but an altogether too large proportion is receiving home mission aid. One Choctaw church, for instance, has received such aid for 102 years, another for seventy-one years. The situation in this respect is better among the Chickasaw and Cherokee churches, while the Creeks, who are financially better off than some of the other tribes, are making more progress in benevolences. The Creek Baptist Association has for some years supported native workers among the Wichitas and Caddos, in western Oklahoma, and among the Seminoles in Florida. The whole matter of benevolence calls, however, for serious consideration in many of the churches throughout the Five Tribes.

The largest churches numerically are to be found among the Cherokees, where the average membership per church runs as high as seventy or eighty. The average among the Choctaws and Chickasaws is much smaller. Of the 113 churches from which reports were obtained in the Choctaw nation the average membership per church was only nineteen. One reason for the weakness of the churches in membership,

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according to local church leaders, is that after the allotment of lands to different tribes many Indians moved away from their old homes and the churches which remained were compelled to rely upon three or four families for support and maintenance. In some instances only one or two families remained with a certain church, but rather than relinquish its charter and have it merged with some neighboring church, they clung tenaciously to the old spot made sacred by the associations of the past.

In too many churches preaching services are held only once a month.¹² Out of ninety-four churches among the Choctaws reporting as to church services, fifty-two hold monthly meetings only. A similar situation obtains among the Chickasaws and to a less extent among the Cherokees. Where weekly services are held they are generally in the hands of a lay member, deacon, elder or local preacher. Prayer meetings are also held irregularly by most of the churches.

Certain groups of churches have what is termed the "Fifth Sunday Meeting" at one of the churches, at which time a special effort is made to encourage attendance by the presence of a regular itinerant minister. A community dinner generally follows. These Fifth Sunday meetings seem to be popular, especially among the Southern Baptists.

Sunday schools are not so numerous as might be expected. During eight or nine months of the year, when many of the children are away at Government or mission boarding schools, it happens that some churches have nothing to take the place of the Sunday school hour.¹³ But with the increasing number of children attending day schools in nearby districts, ample opportunity will be given for stressing the importance and value of children being in the Sunday school and of making this most valuable auxiliary agency of the church an instrument for the widest influence.

¹² This does not necessarily mean that the members of such churches are not in church, for it is quite customary for a church to act as hostess to several others which, in their turn, have their own Sunday service.

¹³ The Creek Baptist Association has within recent years appointed a special Sunday school worker to develop and stimulate Sunday school and young people's activities in the Creek churches.

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The work among the women is encouraging, a goodly proportion of the churches having women's societies.¹⁴ Fifty-eight such societies among the Choctaws report a membership of 670. These good women help to raise money for the church work and contribute toward missions. Among the Chickasaws, much more needs to be done in developing the women's and girls' work. Other organizations include singing societies, Epworth Leagues, Christian Endeavors, and the Baptist Young People's Union.

As a rule the churches are the community centers for social and religious life. The arbors, which are built adjoining the churches and are sometimes owned by individuals, are used for social gatherings as well as outdoor meetings. Community picnics are not held as often as formerly, and even in such social gatherings as are held, little recognition is given to the young people. There seems to be an unfortunate line of separation between the older and younger generation. This is the result, in part at least, of the amusements which attract the young people. Many of the Indian young men, for example, are using Sunday to enjoy the sports of the little towns along the railroad, while among the older people not only are Sunday sports frowned upon but athletics in general are looked at somewhat askance. Baseball is by some considered "an instrument of the devil," and social life as "worldly enjoyment." Consequently there is general criticism of the "younger set" for their interest in the social life of the white people and their lack of interest in the church. The pious hope is expressed that when they reach more mature years they will show better sense, renounce the world and return to the fold.

The young people, on the other hand, feel that their elders are too conservative in their attitude toward sports and social life in general. Many of them have been away to Government schools, where dancing was permitted, and where the only recreation available on Sundays was baseball and other athletic contests. Furthermore, they have become accustomed

¹⁴ Especially noticeable among the Creeks, where young women hold office, which is somewhat unusual among Indians.

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to good preaching at these schools and to voluntary religious organizations such as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, in which each one could have some part. Upon their return to their homes they resent having to listen to long drawn-out preaching services in the native tongue, which some of them can scarcely understand. With but a limited number of churches having young people's societies, these boys and girls feel strangely out of place. There is, therefore, urgent need for a program of wholesome social life, in order to attract the young people, and of definite efforts to enroll them in forms of Christian service which will steady them during the period of restlessness and uncertainty in which many of them now find themselves. This will call for great patience and perseverance on the part of both native and white leaders and for a willingness to plan carefully, with the help of the young people themselves, programs which will satisfy the religious, intellectual, and social desires of the Indian youth.

The ministry for the great majority of the churches of the Five Tribes is furnished by native workers, some of whom are of exceptional character and ability. On the other hand, no well-defined method seems to have been worked out for selecting and training the candidates for the ministry such as, for instance, has been used with such admirable results among the Nez Percés. Too often the salaries have been so inadequate that it was impossible for a man to enter the ministry unless he had sufficient income to advance his own expenses and to maintain himself and his family. Some churches maintain Bible institutes during the summer time, but these are generally of short duration. The need, therefore, of raising up an educated, consecrated, native leadership seems imperative.¹⁵

Christianity in the Five Tribes has inherited Protestant-

¹⁵ Some of the denominations, notably the Baptists and the Methodists, have white superintendents who exercise some modicum of supervision over the native churches. These workers endeavor to conduct Bible institutes, attend conferences, suggest methods, and, in general, keep in as intimate touch with local problems as their somewhat extensive fields will permit.

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ism's leaning toward denominationalism. In many sections there has been competition between the churches which has led to over-organization. In Choctaw County, for instance, five denominations are at work. Within a four-mile radius are three small churches under the Presbyterian form of government, having forty-five members in all (See map 4). Whatever may have been the early history of these churches and the reason for their original organization, there is every reason at the present time for combination. There is urgent need for the Presbyterian bodies, namely the Presbyterian U. S. A., the Presbyterian U. S., and the Cumberland Presbyterian, to get together for allocation of responsibility and so avoid the existing duplication and overlapping. Not only is over-churching in evidence on the part of different denominations, but there is overlapping of churches of the same denomination. A conspicuous instance occurs in Pushmataha County (Choctaw Nation), where within a ten-mile circle are found four churches of the same denomination.¹⁶

*Summaries of Church Organizations*¹⁷

CHICKASAW NATION

Churches: Reports from 22—Baptist South, 11; M. E. South, 4; Presbyterian U. S. A., 3; Presbyterian U. S., 3; Cumberland Presbyterian, 1.

Material Equipment: Value of church buildings, \$13,800, an average of \$627 per church.

¹⁶ As a result of the Survey Conference held to consider the present situation of the Five Tribes Churches, at Muskogee, Oklahoma, in October, 1921, the following resolution was brought before the Annual Meeting of the Home Missions Council and the Council of Women for Home Missions, 1922: "That the Boards supporting mission work among the Five Civilized Tribes be urged to adopt policies whereby a lessened number of Indian churches be conducted, more frequent church services be held, Sunday school and Young People's societies be organized, programs of rural church life and community service be arranged and more thoroughly trained pastoral leadership be provided."

¹⁷ The survey of the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations was made by counties, but for the purpose of this volume is here summarized as a whole. For denominational statistics covering the Five Tribes Churches, including the Seminole and Cherokee, not given here, see Appendix III.

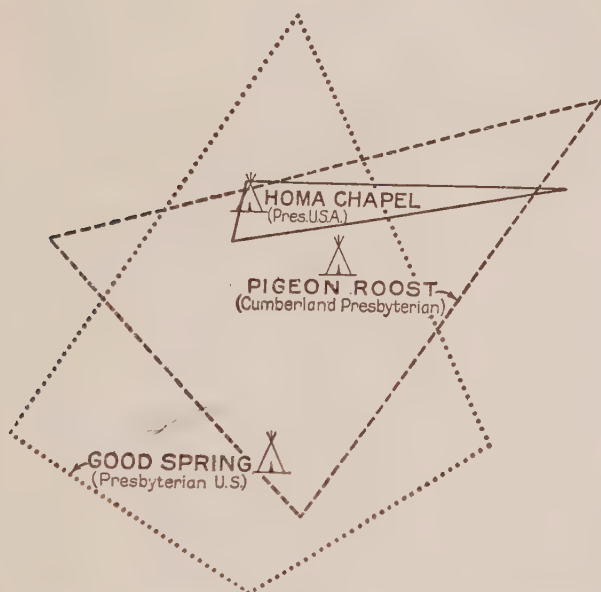
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Finances: 18 contribute to missions and benevolences; one-half entirely self-supporting. Total receipts last fiscal year, \$4,829.39—an average of \$218.15 per congregation.

Membership: 496—an average of 23 per church.

Organizations: Sunday schools, 18—total enrollment, 315, average per school, 19; 10 women's societies; 5 young people's societies.

Native Pastors: 18.



PARISH BOUNDARIES OF THREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES
IN CHOCTAW COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

CHOCTAW NATION

Counties: 11.¹⁸

Churches: Reports from 113—M. E. South, 56; Baptist South, 23; Presbyterian U. S. A., 14; Cumberland Presbyterian, 14; Presbyterian U. S., 6.

Material Equipment: Value of church buildings, \$73,400—an average of \$649 per church; other buildings, \$17,395.

¹⁸ In McCurtain County no complete reports available from 11 Cumberland Presbyterian, 10 Presbyterian U. S. A. and 3 Presbyterian U. S. churches. However, for comparative value the statistics as given are quite illuminating.

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Finances: 97 contribute to missions and benevolences. Receipts last fiscal year, \$41,687.68—average per church, \$368.91.

Membership: 2,202, an average of 19 per church. Total gain for year, 126.

Organizations: Sunday schools, 76—total enrollment, 1,666, average per school, 21; women's societies, 58—total membership, 670; young people's societies, 27—total membership, 435.

Native Pastors: 72.

CREEK NATION

Counties: 7.

Churches: Reports from 26¹⁹—M. E. South, 13; Baptist South, 11; Presbyterian U. S. A., 2.

Material Equipment: Value of church buildings, \$32,400—an average of \$1,472 per church; other buildings, including "tabernacles," \$43,375.

Finances: Receipts last fiscal year, \$10,989—an average of \$454 per church.

Membership: 1,042,—an average of 42 per church.

Organizations: Sunday schools, 15—enrollment, 367—an average of 24 per school; women's societies, 15.

Native Pastors: 20.

The inspiring history, the splendid characteristics and abilities of these people and the education which should to-day be within reach of the Indian youth, make possible a bright future for the Five Tribes. From them should come leaders for work among tribes and nations other than their own.

II: *Seneca and Other Indians of Ottawa County*

In one of the most beautiful parts of the State of Oklahoma, a land of hills, rivers and forests, is situated Ottawa County. In the eastern half of this, the most northeasterly county of the state, under the Seneca Superintendency, live seven bands of Indians, making a total population of 2,167. These various bands are of different origin and most of them were settled on their present lands at various dates in the years between 1867 and 1877.

¹⁹ Complete Reports not available from 23 churches—19 Baptist South including independent; 4 M. E. South. But see Appendix III.

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The seven bands with their numbers are as follows: Quapaw, 337; Modoc, 40; Seneca, 487; Ottawa, 272; Eastern Shawnee, 154; Peoria-Miami (citizens), about 393; Wyandotte, 484.

The *Quapaw Indians* belong to the Siouan family and are supposed from their name, which means "those coming downstream," to have gone down the Mississippi and up the Missouri River, until the remnant of the tribe was finally settled in the northeastern corner of Indian Territory in 1877. The Quapaws have behind them a long connection with the Roman Catholic Church, with which they are affiliated to-day, and we find them thus described by one of the early Catholic missionaries: "These Indians do not resemble those of the north, who are all of a morose and stern disposition. These are better made, civil, liberal and of a gay humor." They seem from the first to have taken readily to the ways of the white man.

The *Senecas* were originally found in New York State as part of the Iroquois League and reached Indian Territory by way of Ohio, after ceding their lands to the United States in 1831.

The *Modocs* were a northwestern tribe, originally associated with the Klamaths in Oregon, and were placed on the Quapaw Reservation after the famous war of 1872-73 in which they were led by their chief, known to history as Captain Jack.

The *Ottawas* had a still more famous chief in Pontiac. After the war of 1763, which goes by his name, a small part of the tribe, which refused to submit to the United States, removed to Canada and all of the Ottawa lands along the west shore of Lake Michigan were ceded by various treaties, ending with the Chicago treaty of 1833, when the tribe agreed to move to lands granted to them on the Missouri River in northeastern Kansas. The Ottawas at present living in Oklahoma appear to have come from bands that roamed Ohio and thence moved west of the Mississippi in 1832.

The *Eastern Shawnees* joined with the Senecas in their migration to Indian Territory in 1867.

The *Wyandottes* were placed on their present tract of land in the same year. These people were formerly associated with the Huron Federation of the Iroquoian tribes and were classified as Hurons by Champlain in 1615. They became known to the English as "Wendat," which by a series of transformations has been gradually corrupted to their present name. They drifted from New York into Ohio and Michigan early in the last century and removed to Kansas in 1842, whence they were removed to their present habitat by the treaty of 1867.

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The *Peorias* and the *Miamis* were both Mississippi Valley tribes and were members of the Illinois Confederacy. They were settled in Indian Territory in 1868 and all of them are now citizens.

Economic conditions vary considerably among these various tribes, but in general it may be said that the Indians of Ottawa County are independent and not less prosperous than many of their white neighbors. The Quapaws have a good deal of wealth through lead and zinc mines. Their wealth differs from that of the Osage Indians in being individual rather than tribal, since the Quapaws lease their mining properties and farming lands individually. A considerable number of the Indians are in the Government Indian Service and many of them farm their own land.

Although old Indian customs are rapidly disappearing, a good deal of race pride and clannishness survives among these Indians and tends to keep them from mingling with their white neighbors. They are, nevertheless, of necessity influenced a good deal by the life of the white people whom they see around them and this influence is not always for the best. Among the young people immorality appears to be on the increase, and while health statistics are fairly good it is plain to see that the vitality of the people is low. The introduction of healthy social activities is needed. The peyote cult has made a good deal of headway among the Quapaws, numbering about 200 adherents, but not among the other bands.

The Indians of Ottawa County are generally literate and the rate of illiteracy, only from 8 to 10 per cent. at present, is decreasing as the old people die off. Twenty-eight public schools are open to Indian children and one Roman Catholic school, St. Mary's, at which the enrollment is forty, one-half being Protestant. The Government boarding school at Wyandotte, originally established by the Friends in 1872, but turned over to the Government in 1883, was closed to these tribes in 1918 because they had reached a stage of development where all could attend public schools nearer their homes. This school, however, has been kept going for the benefit of

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neighboring Cherokee children of whom there is an enrollment of 152.

With the exception of the Quapaws, who are Roman Catholic,²⁰ all of these tribes have been closely associated with the Friends' Missions. There is a meeting-house established at Wyandotte, another among the Senecas and another among the Modocs. All of these are now practically self-supporting, although this result is principally due to their white constituency of sixty-one members. The Indians on the membership rolls number 141. A Sunday school is maintained in connection with the Government boarding school at Wyandotte and there are two other Sunday schools having an enrollment of ninety-four, some of whom are white children. The self-sacrificing ministry of the Friends has the defects of its virtues in that it has failed to instill in the Indians the idea of responsibility and self-support. There are indications, however, of a change for the better in this respect. The Friends are finding young people among the Indians who are anxious to share in the advance of the work and they are planning a program for a community church which shall minister to all the needs of these people. The town of Wyandotte offers a center from which community work among both whites and Indians might advantageously be carried on.²¹

III: *Osages*

The fortuitous discovery of oil has made the Osage Indians probably the most famous tribe in the United States. Their wealth has become legendary since oil was discovered on their

²⁰ St. Mary's Mission to the Quapaws reports 269 adherents of whom 168 are Quapaws.

²¹ The following action was taken at the Muskogee Survey Conference, October, 1921: "We rejoice that the remnants of numerous tribes located in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, have the Society of Friends at work at several places among them, and we urge that the work of that denomination be expanded and intensified as rapidly as may be until it shall make a demonstration, for the sake of Indian work everywhere, of what can be done when one of the noble Evangelical denominations has sole responsibility in developing a great undertaking.

"This, of course, does not preclude the work of other bodies in ministering to students of their fellowship who may be in school in that territory."

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land in the 'nineties, and particularly since, by Governmental action in 1915, they have received full royalties from their holdings. While a good deal that is told of their limitless wealth and reckless expenditure is no doubt exaggerated, the fact remains that the Osage Indians receive every year from oil leases a sum of approximately ten million dollars and that this easy money has been a curse rather than a blessing to them.

In early days the Osage Indians were an important and warlike people. Marquette's map of 1673 shows them living in what is now Missouri, on the Osage River. In 1714 they assisted the French in defeating the Foxes at Detroit. Lewis and Clark came upon them in 1802, and their first treaty with the United States was concluded in 1808, at Fort Clark, Kansas. Their present reservation, comprising 1,465,350 acres in northern Oklahoma, was established in 1870, and by the Act of June 28, 1906, an equal division of lands and of the very considerable funds which had come from the sale of lands was provided for. At the same time the trust period of twenty-five years was extended until 1931. The present population of the tribe is 2,154, of whom 1,754 have allotments. The number of families is given as 383, the majority of whom live near the towns of Pawhuska, Hominy and Fairfax. All of the Osage Indians are citizens although the Government trust imposes certain limits upon their independence.²²

What with the funds obtained from the sale of their original lands in Missouri and Arkansas and the money accruing from the leasing of their farmlands, the Osages were prosperous enough even before the discovery of oil. Since oil was found they have become probably the wealthiest people per capita in the world, and their sudden wealth, as was not unnatural, has gone to their heads. The demoralizing influence of riches is everywhere apparent.²³ Marriage is entered into

²² Legislation was enacted recently to retain in the U. S. Treasury some of the money accruing from the oil royalties as provision for the future.

²³ The following quotation from a letter written by an Osage Indian girl is significant:

"Now when I hear some of our best friends like the Missionaries say

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recklessly, and divorce is appallingly frequent. Immorality is prevalent and venereal disease is said to affect 75 per cent. of the tribe. Naturally, bootlegging is a flourishing industry, joy-riding a favorite hobby, and both men and women are much addicted to gambling. The peyote cult has assumed serious proportions, not less than 50 per cent. of the people being adherents. Elaborate peyote houses have been built with the cross outside the building and inside, a crucifix, in curious juxtaposition to the paraphernalia of the old heathen worship. The Indian dances are held in spring and fall at three camps where Round Houses have been built. Only some among the older people are, however, still under the influence of the old superstitions.

Although illiteracy among the Osage Indians is only 10 per cent., the general situation in regard to education leaves a good deal to be desired. Attendance is very irregular both at the public schools in the county, all of which are open to Indian children, and at the Government boarding school at Pawhuska, which has an enrollment of seventy-five.^{23a} There is also a contract mission school, known as St. Louis, conducted by the Roman Catholics, with an enrollment of nineteen.

The Osage Indians have been in touch from early days with Roman Catholic missionaries and the Catholics have conducted

the Osages should not spend their money so foolishly, there are people (white) ready to say: 'Well, it's theirs, the Government has no right to hold it back on them, it's their money, let them throw it away if they like.' These are the kind of people living on what the Osages throw away. I am mighty glad the Extension law was passed and of the conditions, from which my people are suffering greatly. They will never learn to use their money to an advantage. Some of our smart men are looking out for the children's future, but my idea about this would be to separate the old ones from the younger ones who have ambition and want to learn; I mean separate them entirely—the two classes. Let the old ones go their limit but give the younger ones their chance. It's money again I must mention—this stuff that has driven our boys wild crazy and finally mad. The old Osage men and women give their boys and girls money to buy them cars by the dozen, to wed them off—what I call shows. Lately it has gotten to be ridiculous, children at the age of thirteen are being married off at the pleasure of their old, selfish parents. Now these children are well paid, on the understanding that they can leave each other afterwards."

^{23a} This school was ordered closed in December, 1922, on account of small attendance.

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the St. John's Mission at Gray Horse for a number of years. The number of Catholic Osages is given at 145, but many more have been baptized into that faith. Presbyterian missionaries were sent to these Indians by the United Foreign Missionary Society in 1821, and the American Board attempted some extension work from its station among the Cherokees in 1826, but apparently their stay was short and the present Protestant work is of much later date. The Southern Baptists opened a station at Pawhuska in 1905, and the Friends one at Hominy in 1908. The Baptists had at one time fifty members, but the combination of wealth and the peyote cult at the present time has made church influence negligible. The Friends have no organized church, but make house-to-house visits, and by this means and through their Sunday school are exercising a beneficent influence upon the children.

There is great need and a splendid opportunity here for a well-equipped community center radiating practical Christianity.²⁴ Long ago the Osages were a gallant people, conspicuous in warfare and eagerly sought as allies by the weak. Despite the corroding influence of unearned riches something of this spirit still remains among them. They are cordial and loyal to their friends, generous and warm-hearted, child-like in their enjoyment of the good things of life, but over-indulgent with their children and themselves. These are qualities which, under proper guidance, could be turned to good advantage.

IV: *The Shawnee Superintendency*

The city of Shawnee furnishes a natural center for the superintendency of remnants of five tribes, all but one of which belong to the Algonquin family which formerly occupied the most extended area in North America.

²⁴ The El Reno Survey Conference, October, 1921, recommended that a strong missionary work involving a community program be established at Fairfax as a strategic center by the Southern Baptists, or if that be impossible, by the Friends.

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(1) *Absentee Shawnee*, numbering 540. Originally found in Pennsylvania and later in Ohio, the Shawnee for forty years or more before the treaty of 1795 were fighting constantly with the English or with other tribes. Following a westward movement one branch of the tribe settled in Indian Territory in 1845, becoming known as the Absentee Shawnees and being divided into two groups, the White Turkey and Big Jim bands.

(2) *Sac and Fox*, numbering 600. Originally two tribes, these Indians were settled in the Lake region of the north. In return for various cessions of Iowa lands in 1837 they received tracts across the Missouri in Kansas, which were exchanged for land in Indian Territory in 1867. They received individual allotments in 1889.

(3) *Kickapoo*, numbering 195. The Kickapoo Indians are mentioned as a Wisconsin tribe in 1867. Later they moved to Illinois, to Missouri and finally to Kansas. In 1852 a section of the tribe went to Mexico, but returned in 1873 and was settled in Indian Territory, becoming known as the Mexican Kickapoos.

(4) The *Citizen Potawatomis*, numbering 530, were early described as "the most docile and affectionate toward the French of all the savages in the West." Nevertheless they fought against the United States in the Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812. In 1846 they were united on a reservation in Kansas and a large number took lands in severalty in 1861 as Citizen Potawatomis. In 1868 these were removed to Indian Territory, the remainder staying in Kansas, while remnants of the prairie band are still found in some of the northern states and in Canada.

(5) The *Iowa* Indians, numbering 78, are a branch of the Siouan tribes and were originally reported by Père André in 1676 in Wisconsin. At a later date they were found in Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma. A small group received their allotments in severalty in 1890, the surplus acreage being opened up for settlement.

The original reservations of these bands covered about half a million acres. The present allotments are in sections of five counties and embrace a total acreage of 423,420. The Indian allotments, which are for the most part situated in fertile sections along the rivers, are freely interspersed with white settlements, and since all of the land is allotted there are no reservation lines. Much of the land is good for farming and a variety of crops, principally grain and cotton, can

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be raised. Efforts have been made to induce the Indians to engage in more intensive cultivation of the land and the absence of poverty indicates that these efforts have met with a considerable measure of success. Nevertheless, too many of the Indians are content to lease their lands to white settlers.

Economically and socially the Indians are not to be distinguished from their white neighbors.²⁵ The results of education and of Christian teaching are evident in their manner of life, although the common law marriages, which are recognized in Oklahoma, are still too frequent. There is almost complete absence of crime among these tribes, but unfortunately immorality appears to be on the increase. The young people are attracted to the nearby towns and lack the social life among themselves which ought to counteract the temptations offered in these places. Indian dances, which are held occasionally and are divorced entirely from any lingering belief in the old religion, offer a somewhat poor substitute for social gatherings. It is noteworthy, indeed, that these dances are often made the occasion for the more progressive Indians to discuss the problems of improved living conditions or greater industry. Another substitute for a healthy social life is found in the peyote cult, which has obtained a great hold in all but one of these tribes and is attended by the usual results.

In general, little illiteracy is found among these tribes, except in the case of the very old people. The Potawatomis, who early came under the influence of Catholic missionaries and frequently intermarried with the French, and the Sac and Fox, who for years have had a high regard for education, are the most advanced, while the Kickapoos and Big Jim bands are the least progressive in educational matters. There are seventeen public schools open to these Indians but it is

²⁵ Although all of these Indians are citizens in that they have the right to vote, many are on the so-called restricted list because they have an interest in lands to which they have not full title. It frequently happens that an Indian may be declared competent and have full title to his land but later, through the death of a relative, he may receive an interest in some piece of restricted land. This puts his name back on the Government roll of restricted Indians although he still exercises the full franchise as a citizen.

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difficult to assure a full enrollment, and in the last two years a number of Indian children have been sent to the Government schools at Concho and Seger, in the Cheyenne country. The boarding school near Shawnee was first established as a Friends' Mission and later became a Government school, but this was closed in 1919. There are two Roman Catholic boarding schools, the school of the Benedictine Fathers, Sacred Heart, with an enrollment of nineteen, and St. Mary's, with an enrollment of thirty-eight, both located at Sacred Heart and ministering to the educational needs of the Potawatomi tribe.

The Friends have an early and honorable record of missionary work among these tribes, dating as far back as 1740, when a mission was established at Wyoming, Pennsylvania. In 1837 the Friends established a mission among the Shawnees in Kansas. Their present missions were all started since 1873 and consist of a meeting house and station near the Shawnee Agency, another among the Big Jim band, a third among the Kickapoos and a fourth among the Iowas. Membership is given as 106, but seventy-seven of these are white people. Meetings are generally held every Sunday and there is one Sunday school for Indian children as well as some young people's work.

The Potawatomis, as has been noted, early came under the influence of Roman Catholic missionaries, and the Catholics have for a number of years conducted two missions among this tribe, one at Sacred Heart and the other at Wanette. The number of adherents is given as 278.

The Baptist mission among the Sac and Fox was started by the Northern Baptist Convention in 1880 and later was transferred to the Southern Baptists. The most famous of the Northern Baptist missionaries was the Rev. Isaac McCoy, to whose efforts was very largely due the moving of the various Indian tribes into Indian Territory. It is interesting to note that the present pastor of "The Only Way" church, which was organized in 1914, is the Rev. Isaac McCoy, an Ottawa Indian to whom as a boy the early missionary gave his name. The roll of this church has forty names but only

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seven are listed as active. The Baptists have also within the last two years organized a church among the Iowas with a Sunday school in connection with it. The meetings have been held in a tent.

The missionary work in these fields has reached a point where future policies should be made clear and definite. Many of the young people who have attended school with their white neighbors will soon be capable of assimilation with the communities in which they live and could unite with the churches in those communities. On the other hand, among certain backward groups, like the Big Jim band, there will be need of a specific mission program for a number of years.

V: *Pawnee and Ponca Jurisdiction*

All of the 2,393 Indians under the Pawnee and Ponca jurisdiction rank as citizens. They are distributed among five tribes, Otoe, Kaw (or Kansa), Ponca, Tonkawa and Pawnee, of which the first three are part of the great Siouan family.

The *Otoe* tribe was for many years in the neighborhood of the Platte River, in Nebraska, and made its first treaty with the United States in 1817. In 1882 this tribe, together with the Missouri, was removed to Indian Territory and placed on a reservation of 129,350 acres in Noble County.

The *Kaws* are found on early maps of Kansas. By a treaty made at the Methodist Mission, Kansas, in 1846, they ceded to the United States two million acres of the eastern portion of their reservation; thence they removed to Council Grove in Morris County, Kansas, where they remained until 1873, when they were removed to Indian Territory.

The *Poncas* were at one time settled near the pipestone quarries of Minnesota, being driven from there by the Dakotas and settling around the mouth of the Niobrara in Nebraska, where they remained until their enforced removal to Indian Territory in 1877.

The *Tonkawas* on early maps were located in the central part of Texas. They formed the Tonkawa family, their name for themselves meaning "they all stay together." Their early history was one of almost constant warfare with the Spanish and with neighboring tribes. They were a hunting people, accus-

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tomed to following the buffalo for long distances. They were first settled by the Government on the Brazos River, in 1855, but owing to the opposition of the people of Texas they were removed to Oklahoma. In the confusion of the Civil War neighboring tribes saw an opportunity to pay off old scores, and upon the night of October 25, 1862, a general massacre of Tonkawas took place. In addition to two white people, 137 Tonkawa men, women and children were killed. In 1876 the last of their lands were given up and they removed to Oklahoma. In 1892 they received lands in severalty, 112,701 acres being allotted in Pawnee and Payne Counties.

The *Pawnees* belong to the Caddoan family, their tribal name meaning "men of men." The Pawnee lands came under the control of the United States through the Louisiana Purchase, and all through the early pioneer days, as well as during the turmoil of the Civil War, this tribe remained friendly to the United States, exhibiting great patience and forbearance in the matter of long-delayed treaty agreements. Their history differs little from that of other tribes, exhibiting the same gradual encroachment of white immigration and the confining of the tribe to reservation lands. The Pawnees acknowledged the supremacy of the United States in 1825 and in 1833 ceded all their lands south of the Platte River, Nebraska. In 1876 the last of the Nebraska lands was given up and the tribe was removed to Oklahoma. They received their land in severalty in 1892, 12,701 acres being allotted to them in Pawnee and Payne Counties.

These Indians are engaged in agricultural pursuits and are in the main fairly prosperous. As is the case with many of the tribes in Indian Territory, leasing of their lands is too common a practice and money from this source comes too easily for the general good of the Indian. Upon the Otoe, Ponca and Pawnee reservations a certain amount of oil and gas has been found, and the economic future of these people will depend largely upon how these discoveries develop. It is to be hoped in any case that the experience of the Osages may not be repeated. The only native industry pursued by these Indians is the ribbon work which some of the Otoe women do for the Osages.

Living and social conditions generally among these tribes are comparable with conditions among uneducated white people. Indeed, the Indians of one tribe, the Kaw, have largely intermarried with whites and make up forty families out of

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the 170 people who are living near the small village of Washunga. Despite the fact that the Indian homes are as a rule fairly good, the health of the population has been affected to some extent by the confined life indoors, and the percentage of tuberculosis and trachoma is higher than it should be, ranging, for tuberculosis, from 1 to 15 per cent., and for trachoma, from 1 to 30 per cent. All marriages are legal, but separations are too frequent.

An effort to develop the Indians' social life is seen in the "Victory Dances," which were started after the war among the Pawnees to celebrate the return of Indian soldiers from France. These dances, while not as bad as the old "Ghost Dance," are by no means elevating in their effect. The Indian Progressive Club, recently started at Pawnee, is an institution that seems to contain some promise if directed unobtrusively into the right lines. Certainly community activities are needed to offset the influence of Ponca City and Pawnee, the two principal commercial centers which are frequented by the Indians and which encourage loafing and questionable occupations. The situation in regard to liquor is more satisfactory than it was formerly, although patent medicines containing a large percentage of alcohol, as well as nome brew, are used more or less freely. Gambling is very prevalent among both men and women. Moral conditions, especially among the Poncas and Pawnees, are reported as distressing, and the spread of venereal diseases is stated to be appalling. The peyote cult has a considerable hold, especially among the Poncas and Otoes, and is said to claim 300 adherents.

Among these tribes only some of the old people now remain illiterate. Among the Poncas twenty-one public schools are open to Indian children, but a good deal of difficulty has been experienced in inducing regular attendance and the sentiment seems to be fairly general that the Government school was abolished prematurely. At one time Government boarding schools were maintained on all these reservations except the Tonkawa. Now the school at Pawnee is the only one remaining. This school was opened in 1865. It carries the

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first five grades and has an enrollment of one hundred. On completion of the course the pupils may attend the Chilocco school, a non-reservation school in the northern part of the state. The school at Pawnee is under the religious supervision of the Southern Baptists, who have a mission near-by.

Various missions have from time to time been started among these tribes. The Presbyterians carried on work among the Pawnees from 1834 to 1847. In 1883 the National Indian Association established missions for the Poncas, Pawnees and Otoes. These were transferred the following year to the Methodists, who also had a mission school among the Kaws from 1850 to 1854. At present there is no work among either the Kaws or the Tonkawas.²⁶ The latter appear never to have had any missionary activity among them.

At the present time there are a Methodist Episcopal mission among the Poncas, a Southern Baptist mission (formerly Friends) among the Otoes and another Southern Baptist mission among the Pawnees. The Otoa Mission Church now has 108 names on the membership roll. The Baptist church at Pawnee, which was organized in 1906, has a membership of 195 and good mission equipment. There are several organizations, including a Baptist Young People's Union, within the church, and a Sunday school is held in connection with the Government school. One reason why so much organized church work is possible is because practically all the church members lease their farms and about half the families live around the agency in the town of Pawnee. Nevertheless, it is estimated that there are 500 Indians in this parish not connected with the church. Here, as elsewhere on the western Oklahoma reservations, the great need is for an educated native ministry.

The Methodist work among the Poncas has been carried on since 1890, but there is no organized church at the present

²⁶ The following recommendation was voted at the El Reno Conference, October, 1920: "That definite allocation of responsibility be made for the Kaws and Tonkawas, now living in Kay County, Oklahoma, so that these long-neglected groups may receive religious oversight, and that this matter be referred to the Joint Committee on Indian Missions of the Home Missions Council for favorable action."

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time. At one time the Nazarenes conducted work here with divisive results. Until recently this field had been without a missionary for two years. Practically the whole tribe has been addicted to peyote and in consequence an aggressive work is urgently needed. A strong community work radiating from two or three centers is the obvious solution of the problem.

VI: *Kiowa Superintendency*

Five tribes, with fragments of some others, are settled under the Kiowa Superintendency in parts of Comanche, Kiowa, Caddo and Cotton Counties, Oklahoma. The original reservations comprise a little more than half a million acres, all of which has now been allotted. The total population of these five tribes is 7,707 and all but eighty-seven Fort Sill Apaches are citizens.

(1) *Kiowa*. Population 1,632. Known throughout their history as "plains Indians," the Kiowa tribe, the earliest mention of which is in Spanish records of 1732, was found by Lewis and Clark on the North Platte in 1805. Later it moved to the Southwest, allying itself with the Comanches and engaging in constant warfare with frontier settlements in Texas and New Mexico. The first treaty with the United States was made in 1837 and in 1868 these Indians were placed on their present reservation of 4,000 square miles with the Comanches and Kiowa-Apaches.

(2) *Kiowa-Apaches*. Population 179. Although this tribe appears to be related to some branch of the Apache family, it has been allied from very early times with the Kiowa tribe and its history is similar to that of the Kiowas.

(3) *Comanche*. Population 1,661. As early as 1719 this tribe was found in western Kansas and for two centuries was at war with Spaniards and southwestern tribes. Although generally friendly with whites, the Comanches became bitter enemies of the Texans, who had taken their best hunting grounds, and waged war against them for forty years. Since 1795 they have been closely allied with the Kiowas and made their first treaty with the United States at the same time as the latter tribe. Although their reservation was set aside for them in 1867, they did not settle down on it until 1875.

(4) *Wichita-Caddo and Allied Tribes*. Population 1,152.

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These Indians, among whom are a few Delawares, Ionis, Tawakonis and Wacos, are all part of the Caddoan Confederacy and closely related to the Pawnees, having ranged in former times over the country from Kansas to the Brazos River in Texas. They were first located near the Wichita Mountains, in Oklahoma, in 1835, but in 1855 they received a tract of land in Texas. There they were the victims of an attempted massacre by white settlers in 1859, but were saved by the Federal Government agent, who induced them to make a forced march to Oklahoma, the agent subsequently paying with his own life for his friendship for the Indians. These people remained loyal to the United States during the Civil War and most of the Texan tribes took refuge in Kansas till it was over. The present reservation boundaries were defined in 1872 and the land was allotted in severalty in 1901.

(5) *Fort Sill Apaches.* Population 83. These Indians form a remnant of Geronimo's famous band, the larger branches of which are now in New Mexico and Arizona.²⁷ Taken as prisoners of war in 1886, they were first sent to Florida but were later transferred to Mt. Vernon Barracks, in Alabama, and in 1894, 308 of them were removed to Fort Sill reservation in Oklahoma. In 1913 provision was made for 183 to return to Mescalero, New Mexico, but seventy-eight remained in Oklahoma, on their release, after twenty-six years, from their status as prisoners of war. The Oklahoma band is now settled on small allotments but has not received citizenship, while agreements made by the Government with these people still remain unfulfilled.²⁸

When one considers their history, both early and recent, perhaps the most remarkable thing about these tribes is their progress in domestication. The Indians of Caddoan stock, it is true, have been agriculturists, and to some extent traders, from an early day. Indeed, there is a legend concerning the origin of the Caddos, from the underworld, which says: "First an old man climbed up, carrying in one hand fire and a pipe and in the other a drum. Next came his wife with corn and pumpkin seeds." The cloth of vegetable fibers adorned with feathers made by these people early attracted the attention of the French and Spanish, as did their pottery

²⁷ See Ch. XII, § I.

²⁸ The following action was taken at the El Reno Conference, October, 1921: "This conference urges upon the U. S. Government immediate fulfillment of its promises made several years ago to the Fort Sill Apaches, said promises aggregating, in lands and rations, some \$42,500."

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and baskets, and it was their custom long ago to trade corn and tobacco with their hunting neighbors. Except for the Caddos, however, the tribes under the Kiowa superintendency were all hunters and warriors, with little time or inclination for the more peaceful pursuits of agriculture. The little corn that was raised in the old days was planted and tended by the women while the men were away hunting and fighting. The Comanches, in particular, were known as the finest horsemen of the plains, intrepid hunters of buffalo and brave warriors, endowed with a high sense of honor and holding themselves superior to all other tribes with whom they associated. The surprising thing is, not that the type of agriculture now carried on by these Indians falls short of the best scientific standards, but that the recent descendants of untamed horsemen of the plains and wild warriors should have become the peaceful citizens of to-day, following the plow instead of the buffalo.²⁹

Oil and gas have been found in certain sections, especially in the Comanche country near the Texas border, but the principal industry of these Indians is farming. The level or rolling land is rich and suitable for cotton, small grains and forage crops. A few domestic animals are raised for home use only. Some 3,000 of the Indians lease part of their land, but Government officials are endeavoring to put through a plan, successfully employed elsewhere, by which each Indian shall retain forty acres for his own use. Here, as elsewhere among the Indians of Oklahoma, the easy money that comes from the leasing of lands is a danger. It is noteworthy that the Fort Sill Apaches lease but little of their land, have comfortable homes, are good workers and thrifty.

²⁹ An incident of the World War is worth recording, which shows that the Comanche Indians still retain a vague remembrance of the old days. When the train pulled out from Lawton, Oklahoma, taking a number of Comanche boys to the war, a group of aged women began a chant that was unfamiliar to the white people and to the younger Indians assembled at the station. An old man explained that this was the ancient war-song of the Comanche women with which they had been accustomed to urge their young men on to victory. The chant was heard for the first time in many years, and perhaps for the last time, when the descendants of this savage tribe went forth to fight in the cause of civilization.

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Social conditions among these five tribes are similar to those which obtain among other Indian tribes of Oklahoma. The oft-repeated statement that no Indian tribe has in its language the word for home in our sense is a fact of considerable significance for the Indian in his present situation. Some tribes were originally organized according to family clans and others by societies. In the majority the children belonged to the mother's clan. The change from the old days of tribal marriage to the modern observance of the State laws everywhere presents difficulties. The observance of the State laws often comes as an after-thought and separations are too easy. Here, as elsewhere, a stricter enforcement of the marriage laws is needed, especially among the young people. A further common difficulty, which is illustrated among these Indians, is the inability of young and old to understand the freedom which young white people enjoy. The attempt to imitate this freedom is often fraught with disaster. The solution of the problem lies in the introduction of a greater variety of social activities of a healthy character. At present there are no organized social activities among these tribes while pool-rooms and moving-picture houses in the near-by towns furnish undesirable loafing places. The craving for social life, as among other bands of Indians, expresses itself here in the continuation of some of the old dances and in an increasing addiction to the use of peyote, which claims among its adherents from 50 to 60 per cent. of these tribes.

The use of alcohol still presents a problem, although it is harder to obtain now than before prohibition, but boot-legging and home-brewing are fairly prevalent. There is also a certain amount of gambling, especially among the women. Housing and health conditions are fairly good, although there is more tuberculosis and trachoma than should be the case—7 and 25 per cent. respectively. Three- and four-room cottages are now the rule and tepees are used only in summer time and at peyote feasts. The equipment of the one hospital, at Fort Sill, is limited, and beneficial effects might result from an educational campaign by the State health authorities directed especially against social diseases.

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An interesting educational development is in process under the Kiowa superintendency, directed to increasing the attendance of Indian children in the district schools. Some seventy-five of these schools now have a large enough attendance of Indians to be under the supervision of a day school inspector. Regular attendance is encouraged and careful reports are kept of progress made. On account of difficulties with the language the Kiowa children find it somewhat hard to compete with their white schoolfellows, but in spite of this their average in examinations is creditable. As consolidated schools are established and more advanced work is done the Indian pupils can be encouraged to continue longer in school. At present a large number go on to Chilocco and Haskell, two Government non-reservation schools, and some attend mission schools. It would be to the advantage of the Indian children if greater emphasis were placed in the district schools upon industrial education. There is some slight difference of opinion between the Government officials and the missionaries in regard to this plan of encouraging Indian children to attend the district schools. The former urge the advantages for the future of the mingling of whites and Indians. Some of the latter, while admitting this point, feel that the children could be more easily reached for purposes of religious education in boarding schools. It should not be impossible, however, to devise a system of rural Sunday schools or similar methods of religious instruction adapted to children living in scattered communities.

There are three boarding schools, each carrying the first six grades, under this superintendency, as follows:

1. *Anadarko Boarding School*: Enrollment, 134. Opened in 1892 as St. Patrick's Mission. Since 1911, the cost of maintenance has been paid from tribal funds. In organization it is similar to the Grey Nuns' Department of the Fort Totten School, N. D. (q. v.)

2. *Riverside School*: Started in 1871, largely for Wichitas and Caddos. Enrollment, 171. Religious affiliations are principally Baptist. A nearby missionary carries on religious work.

3. *Fort Sill School*: Opened in 1881, especially for Comanches. Enrollment, 160. Religious work is carried on by Baptist and

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Reformed Churches. Two young people's organizations, a Y. M. C. A. and a Y. W. C. A., meet weekly.

Five Protestant denominations, with fifteen mission stations, are at work among these Indians, all of the stations and churches having been organized at various dates between 1886 and 1907. Earlier missionary efforts include a Quaker mission among the Caddos, in 1872, and work by the Creek Indian Association (Baptist) among the Wichitas, started in 1876. The Episcopalians, the National Indian Association and the Presbyterians at one time also had work among these people, but the work has either been abandoned or transferred to other boards. The Roman Catholics conduct St. Patrick's Mission in connection with the Anadarko Boarding School. The number of adherents is given as 551, of which 210 are said to be Kiowas. For many years Father Isidore was in charge of this mission.

Activities of the fifteen stations may be summed up as follows:

Denominations: The Baptist Church (Northern Convention) has seven stations, four among the Kiowas (Elk Creek, Rainy Mountain, Red Stone and Saddle Mountain), one among the Comanches, one among the Kiowa-Apaches, and one among the Wichita-Caddos. The Methodist Episcopal Church (South) has three stations, two among the Kiowas and one for the three tribes (Wichita, Caddos and Kiowa-Apaches). The Reformed Presbyterian Church carries on missionary work among the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches. This work, which dates from 1889, began with a well-equipped school, but this was given up when "it seemed better to have the children attend public schools with the white children and so become part of the whole community." The Mennonite Brethren have work among the Comanches. The Reformed Church has a church near Lawton and conducts services at two other points. The work lies among the Apaches and Comanches.

Material Equipment: Land valuation, \$47,150; church buildings, \$31,700; parsonages, \$20,650; other buildings, \$17,700. Combined seating capacity of thirteen church buildings, 3,050. Seven buildings have more than one room.

Finances: Ten ³⁰ churches report total expenditures for last

³⁰ Figures of membership, expenditure, etc., could not be obtained from the Southern Methodist churches.

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fiscal year of \$19,350.45; total receipts, \$18,542.54. All ten report that home mission aid has been received since organization.

Membership: Excluding the Southern Methodist churches, the total membership of these churches is given as 1,247, about one-third of the total population. A particularly large number of Kiowas are enrolled as church members.

Services: Nine of the thirteen churches report morning and evening services every Sunday. In eight churches the morning services are conducted through an interpreter, while in four churches the native language is used. Evening services are generally in English. During summer, camp meetings are popular with all the missions. Eight churches report Sunday schools, with a total enrollment of 455. Five women's societies, with a membership of 46, are reported, and in one or two of the churches young people's societies are held during the summer months.

Great efforts have been made by the missionaries in this field to make the church the center of the Indians' life. The Dutch Reformed Mission among the Comanches, in particular, has a well-equipped building and does admirable work of the community type, despite the fact that it is not a natural center for the Indians. It is encouraging also to note the increased sense of responsibility for the support of the church work and the amount given to home and foreign missions. Another noteworthy feature of this field is the development of the deacons' work by the Baptists, which is paving the way for native leadership, and also their emphasis upon Christian stewardship in the matter of giving. In the interests of more effective church organization, the recommendations of the El Reno Conference are applicable to this superintendency.³¹

VII: *Cheyenne and Arapaho*

Parts of these two tribes, which are both of the Algonquin family and which have been in association for many years, are settled in three superintendencies: Cantonment (near Canton, Oklahoma; population 735); Cheyenne-Arapaho (near Concho; population 1,216); Seger (at Colony, Oklahoma; population 751). The reservations cover parts of six coun-

³¹ See next section, footnote 35.



A DIGNIFIED ARAFAHO



A PREACHING PORCH

This sensible provision for open-air services is a common feature of Indian churches in Oklahoma



A SIOUX GRANDMOTHER



GOING TO MEETING

Sioux Indians on their way to a missionary Conference at Santee, Nebraska

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ties and have an allotted acreage of 500,000. All of the Indians have received the franchise, but the majority are still on the Government rolls since nearly all of them have an interest in restricted lands. The Arapahos number 844 and the Cheyennes 1,858.

The exact date of the alliance of these two tribes is not known, but according to tradition they were in early years a sedentary and agricultural people living in northern Minnesota. The Arapahos of Oklahoma belonged to the southern branch of the name, which was derived from the northern branch in the last century. The northern Arapahos, who are settled in Wyoming, are regarded as the mother tribe and retain in their possession the sacred tribal articles, namely, the tubular pipe, one ear of corn and a stone turtle.³² The southern Arapahos, together with the southern Cheyennes, were taken to Oklahoma by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867, and their reservations were thrown open to settlement in 1892.

The earliest historical mention of the Cheyennes is found when they visited La Salle's fort in Illinois in 1680. According to their own traditions, they formerly occupied fixed villages, practiced agriculture, and made pottery, but were constantly driven westward by other tribes and eventually became roving buffalo hunters. Their first treaty with the Government was made in 1825. The northern part of the tribe was placed on a reservation in Montana by a treaty in 1851, the southern portion, as has been seen, being assigned to western Oklahoma in 1867.

Although some cotton and alfalfa and small grains are raised on the Indian allotments, a familiar phenomenon among the Oklahoma Indians is repeated here. It is found that money derived from the leasing of land is sufficient to keep the people from starvation and consequently they have little incentive to farm their lands for themselves. The Government is, however, urging that every able-bodied adult reserve at least forty acres of land for his own use.

³² See Ch. XIII, § III.

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A most interesting industry has been promoted through the efforts of Mohonk Lodge in connection with the Reformed Church Mission at Colony. The women are supplied with buckskin, beads and sinew and produce some wonderful bead work, for which they receive "pin money." Thus, not only is industry encouraged, but a precious native art is preserved.

In general, living conditions are fairly good and up to the average standard among the Oklahoma Indians. There are, however, too many affairs which call for camp life, such as feasts, dances, and peyote gatherings, where young and old meet with few restrictions. The atmosphere at such gatherings is in marked contrast to the old social life of these Indians when the girls sat at their bead work in the tents and the boys rode, ran races and hunted. These healthy occupations have now largely gone out of use, and the change is not entirely for the better. The Indian girls, in particular, need more protection both from white men and from those of their own race. Although the State marriage laws are enforced, higher moral standards are needed if the tribes are to be kept free from danger and degradation. Health conditions are none too good. The estimates of tuberculosis range from 10 to 50 per cent., according to the vicinity, while the percentage of trachoma reaches even higher. There is one hospital and there are several Government physicians, but many of the Indians adhere to their old customs and often peyote, to which from 50 to 75 per cent. of these people are addicted, is taken as a panacea for all ills. The sale of alcohol has practically stopped, but the Indians still resort to patent medicines and other substitutes. Gambling is prevalent among both men and women. Prostitution exists but is not a serious problem.

The Indian dances, which are held frequently, especially during July, August and September, serve to keep alive the old superstitions and religion. These still have a firm hold, especially among the older people, while many of the young ones, although not believing in the superstitions, are induced to follow the old practices for fear of ridicule and from lack of other social amusements. The tribal ceremony for generations

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was the Sun Dance, and the Ghost Dance made its appearance in 1890. Neither of these is carried on with the full ceremony of the old days, but abbreviated versions of them are widely used, while they also enter into the celebration of the peyote feasts. It is agreed, however, that as the old people die off, the native superstition is losing its hold, just as illiteracy, which is estimated at 40 per cent., is practically confined to the adults. The majority of these Indians also have discarded the old dress and adopted modern clothes. In answer to the question "How many people wear modern dress?" an Indian replied "All wear underclothes." The vagaries of style in the outer garments were presumably too bewildering for him to keep track of, but he evidently knew something of what are regarded as the essentials of civilized dress.

About one hundred pupils a year go to Government non-reservation boarding schools such as Chilocco and Haskell. The district schools are available to the Indian children and are attended by them, but more progress will be made in this direction when a better system of consolidated schools is established. There are three Government boarding schools as follows:

1. *Cantonment Boarding School*: First four grades; enrollment 86. Religious affiliations show: Baptist, 2; Mennonite, 48 (members), 36 (preference). A Sunday school and weekly services of worship, and religious instruction one day in the week carried on by Mennonite missionaries.³³

2. *Cheyenne and Arapaho Boarding School at Concho*: First six grades carried; enrollment 185. Religious affiliations show the following preferences: Baptist, 50; Friends, 12; Methodist Episcopal, 8; Protestant Episcopal, 6; Reformed, 1; Roman Catholic, 5. Baptist missionaries carry on religious instruction on Sunday, and a Y. W. C. A. meets weekly.

3. *Seeger Boarding School at Colony*: First six grades carried; enrollment 90. Religious affiliations show: Reformed Church, 45; Mennonite, 15; Friends, 20³⁴; unattached, 10. The Re-

³³ Since the fall of 1922 Ponca children have been enrolled at this school, thus bringing up the attendance to full capacity.

³⁴ The reason for the presence of Friends in these schools is the fact that a large number of pupils were recently transferred from the Shawnee jurisdiction.

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formed Church mission has assumed responsibility for religious instruction at this school. Sunday services, including well-conducted Sunday schools, are held at the mission chapel near by.

Episcopalians, Congregationalists and the State Y. M. C. A. of Kansas have all been at work at one time or another among these two tribes; but at present, with the exception of some Mormon work, which is negligible and undesirable, only the Mennonites, the Baptists (Northern Convention) and the Reformed Church are conducting missions in this field. A summary of the church work follows:

Missions: (1) Dutch Reformed, at Colony (Cheyenne and Arapaho); (2) Baptist, near Calumet; (3) First Cheyenne Baptist Church, eight miles southwest of Kingfisher; (4) Second Cheyenne Baptist Church, near Watonga; (5) First Arapaho Baptist Church, three miles northeast of Greenfield; (6) Mennonite Mission at Cantonment (Cheyenne); (7) Mennonite mission at Fonda (Cheyenne); (8) Mennonite Mission at Hammon (Cheyenne); (9) Mennonite Mission at Clinton (Cheyenne); (10) Mennonite Mission at Canton (Arapaho).

Material Equipment: Value of land, \$10,910; church buildings, \$12,100; other buildings, \$5,600.

Finances: All mission stations receive home mission aid. In most cases prospects of self-support are remote. The Second Cheyenne Baptist Church shows the largest amount from collections.

Membership: Total membership for nine churches reporting is 786, of which 358 are classed as active members.

Sunday Schools: Four churches only report Sunday schools, with a total enrollment of 224 and an average attendance of 56.

Other Organizations: Two women's societies, one Boys' club, two Young People's societies.

Services: All but three churches have weekly Sunday services. Three have afternoon services, one an evening service. Attendance for morning service is 304, an average of 38 for the eight churches reporting.

While there is a complete absence of any denominational friction in this field, there has existed a certain amount of overlapping as between the Mennonite and Reformed Church work. This, however, is in process of adjustment through a transfer of memberships. It should be noted also that one

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church ministers to 270 Indians with nine ordained missionaries. Certain outstanding features distinguish the work of each denomination. Most impressive, perhaps, are the linguistic attainments of the Mennonite missionaries, who have caused parts of the Scriptures and certain hymns to be translated into the Cheyenne language. The Dutch Reformed Church carries on a valuable community work in connection with the Mohonk Lodge. The Baptists keep before the eyes of their people the goal of self-support and also lay particular emphasis upon the training of their deacons. Mention should also be made of the camp meetings held during the summer by the various missions.

The future of this field is largely bound up with the peyote question. The curse of peyote is upon these Indians, and unless it can be lifted the outlook for them is dark. Intimately connected with the solution of this problem are those concerning the training of a native ministry, the moral education of the young and the provision of organized social activities.³⁵ The present interdenominational organization known as the Western Oklahoma Missionaries' Association should be encouraged to widen its scope and outline programs for dealing with these problems.

³⁵ At the El Reno Conference, October, 1921, the following significant resolution was passed:

"To increase efficiency in church organizations in the Indian fields of Western Oklahoma, we recommend:

- a. That more careful church records be kept.
- b. That better Sunday school literature be provided.
- c. That a whole modern rural church program be worked out for some Indian center, as a demonstration point, with the idea of extending it to other fields if practicable; and that this item be referred to the conference of Indian Missionary Workers in Western Oklahoma.
- d. That a plan for the religious education of the young people who are now attending the district schools be prepared and thoroughly tried. (Referred to same organization as "c.")
- e. That definite plans be made for educating a native ministry.

CHAPTER XI

THE PRAIRIE

I: *Indians of Kansas*

KICKAPOOS AND IOWAS

Upon a reservation of 27,691 acres, allotted in a treaty of 1862, are settled 266 Kickapoo Indians who represent that branch of the tribe which remained in Kansas instead of taking part in the migration to Mexico.¹ The reservation is situated in Brown County, Kansas, and all of the land is allotted and has been opened to settlement for some years. In addition to the Kickapoo Indians are 399 Iowas and ninety-three of the Sac and Fox tribe. All of them are United States citizens, but forty-eight allotments are still held in trust. The reservation contains as many white people as Indians. There are no organized communities beyond the reservation, but there is a trading center, Horton, seven miles away, which is connected by good roads with the reservation.

With little assistance from outside sources, and certainly with no assistance from the churches, at least in recent years, the Indians of this reservation have attained a very fair degree of civilization, and their mode of life compares not unfavorably with that of their white neighbors. Farming is the dominant, indeed the only, industry, the land being well suited to the raising of corn, grain and hay. The Government wisely insists that each Indian retain at least forty acres of his allotted land, but eighty-one Indians have leased portions of their allotments, and the revenue from this source makes a substantial contribution to the income of the tribe. While the Indians cannot be called particularly prosperous, there is yet no absolute poverty among them, and in cases where relief is

¹ See page 177.

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necessary, it is furnished by friends and relatives. Most of the Indians own a horse or two and keep other domestic animals for their own use.

The State marriage laws are well enforced and divorce is rare. Housing conditions are good and tend to foster a high standard of morality, but nevertheless the prevalence of trachoma is serious, one official estimate placing the percentage as high as 60, while tuberculosis affects not less than 10 per cent. of the Indian population. No liquor problem exists, nor is there a great deal of gambling. A few of the old Indians engage in the so-called "religious" dances four times a year, but the old superstition has little influence on the reservation. An attempt was made some time ago to introduce the peyote cult, but it is now an offense against the State law to use or possess peyote and a number of prosecutions have been effective in curbing the activity of the cult. Organized recreational life is confined to a baseball team and a small Indian dance-hall.

There are two Government day schools on the reservation carrying the first three grades, and two district schools are also open to the Indian children. It is only a question of time when the Government day schools will be abandoned. Only 2 per cent. of the Indians are reported as illiterate. The reservation contains forty-nine returned students, forty-seven of whom have attended non-reservation schools, while two have attended highschool. Although it cannot be said that these students "go back" to the old Indian ways, at the same time they do not appear to stand out as progressive leaders in the community.

The Kickapoo reservation is one which the churches can hardly contemplate with pride, presenting as it does a spectacle of an Indian population which has achieved a considerable measure of progress and of self-respect entirely without the assistance of any church. A Presbyterian mission was established among these people in 1865, but has long since been abandoned. At present the only Indian church is a modest building which was erected by the Indians themselves in 1900. No regular services are held there, but an old Indian, eighty

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years of age and in failing health, still regards himself as pastor. He has no Bible, nor does he read, and his ideas as to denominational affiliation are of the vaguest. When asked what kind of church his was, he replied, "I do not know—maybe Methodist." Nevertheless, in his own words, he "preaches Jesus and Mary" and tells the Indians that if they are good they will go to heaven when they die. His only education comes from a few years spent in a reservation Government school and in the Catholic school, St. Mary's. He tells of seeing a vision which told him to believe in Jesus, and his simple religion and preaching are based upon recollections of the Bible story told him in his boyhood. He preaches, he says, "for the love of it," but complains that no one comes to hear him any more when he does preach.

Here is a field for which a distinctively Indian mission might not be exactly suitable, but which stands in great need of some community work adapted to the period of reconstruction in which the Indians find themselves. The fifty returned students present to the Church a definite responsibility. They need aid to enable them to realize that vision of service which in many cases their school days brought to them. For the present at least major emphasis should be placed upon a constructive social program which might very well be operated from Horton as the natural trading center for these Indians. At the same time, the dim fire kept alive by the vision of the old Indian preacher might well be fanned into a flame, and the little Indian church, which is still in a fair state of repair, might become again the scene of regular services.

POTAWATOMIS

Another branch of the tribe which is located in Wisconsin,² the Potawatomi Indians of Kansas were settled on the great Nemaha Reservation under treaties of 1846 and 1867. They are known to-day as "the Prairie Band of Potawatomis" and

² See Ch. IX, § II.

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number 783, of whom only 250 are not United States citizens. The reservation, consisting of 220,785 acres, is situated in Jackson County, the chief commercial center being Mayetta, on the Rock Island Railroad, a town of less than 500 population.

In general characteristics, the Potawatomis are not dissimilar to the Indians of the Kickapoo reservation. The whites who are settled on the reservation are about equal in number to the Indians, and living conditions and general civilization among the latter will bear comparison with conditions obtaining among the whites. A portion of their allotments is leased by 215 of the Indians, but the Government enforces the same rule as among the Kickapoos that each Indian must retain forty acres of land for his own use. Like the Kickapoos, these Indians are farmers, and while not exactly prosperous, neither are they poverty-stricken. The State laws regarding marriage and divorce are strictly enforced, conditions in this respect again being similar to those among the Kickapoos. Health conditions, especially in regard to trachoma, which affects 15 per cent. of the population, might be improved. Only 2 per cent. are, however, affected by tuberculosis. There is neither a Government physician nor a field matron on the reservation, but the village doctors are available. No dance-halls are found on the reservation, but frequent dances are held in the homes of both whites and Indians, American social dances prevailing at these gatherings. The only social organization is the Indian Fair Association, which has a membership of 200 and owns seventy acres of land. The outstanding recreational event is the fall fair, at which exhibitions are shown and ball games and races are held, while a large dance in the grandstand in the evening offers amusement for both whites and Indians. The situation in regard to both alcohol and gambling is well in hand. A little peyote, which was introduced some time ago, is still used, but in secret and a State law against it is effectively enforced. A few of the old people continue to follow the old Indian religion, but their influence is negligible.

There are eight district schools located within the bounds

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of the reservation which furnish adequate school facilities for all the children. A number also attend non-reservation boarding schools such as Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, and Genoa, Nebraska. It is estimated that fifty Indians on the reservation can neither read nor write.

The only Protestant missionary work on this reservation is that conducted by the Methodists, who entered the field in 1903 and established a mission and a small school four and one-half miles southwest of Mayetta. The school was abandoned in 1911, but the mission is still operating, and the Presbyterian Church, which formerly maintained a small outpost work among the Potawatomis, has turned over this work to the Methodists. The church has a membership of fifty-five, of whom thirty-two are classed as active. The church building is valued at \$2,000, and has a seating capacity of 125. Only a small part of the church expense is borne by the congregation, collections last year totaling \$350. Services are held every Sunday evening and every other Sunday morning. A number of white people as well as Indians attend the church and the missionary also serves two white churches. There is a Sunday school with an enrollment of sixty-nine and an average attendance of twenty. A girls' organization meets once a month.

The Roman Catholics also have a station fourteen and one-half miles west of Mayetta for both whites and Indians. Services are held every Sunday morning and the church numbers fifty-four Indian families among its adherents.

While conditions on this reservation appear on the whole favorable, it would seem that the Indians are not ready to enter into the church life of the average white community and a responsible missionary is needed who can give his full time to his Indian charges. A community program might then be inaugurated that would radiate from the church as one point and from an out-station as a second point which should be established among the Indians living ten miles or so to the northwest. A constructive program of recreation under the leadership of the returned students on the reservation would be a principal feature of these community activities.

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II: *Indians of Nebraska*

WINNEBAGOS

The Nebraska Winnebagos are of the tribe of which a part still remains in Wisconsin.³ They have had a varied history since their first discovery by the white man in 1634. Known during the Revolutionary War as the "Hochungara," or Trout, Nation, they were in league with the Sac and Fox at the time of the French and Indian Wars as allies first of the French but later of the British. Their first negotiations with the United States Government occurred in 1816, and they ceded their lands in the Fox Valley to the United States by treaties of 1825 and 1832. In 1837 they removed to a reservation in northern Iowa and thence, in 1846, to Minnesota. Following the Sioux uprising in 1862, they were removed against their will to Crow Creek, South Dakota. Thence, suffering untold hardships, they made their way to Nebraska, where lands were finally purchased for them from the Omahas.

The present Winnebago reservation consists of 123,393 acres, all allotted, situated in Thurston County. Upon these lands, which are rolling and very fertile, lives a population of 1,086 Indians and some 750 white families. Of the Indians, although all are citizens, 736 are still under Governmental supervision. In spite of the richness of the soil and the encouragement to agriculture given by the Indian agency, only 163 Indians farmed their own allotments in 1920, whereas 45,148 acres were leased in that year and 128 Indians engaged in other occupations besides farming. As a result of the revenues received from the leasing of their lands the Winnebagos are, if anything, too prosperous and, like some of the Oklahoma Indians, are prone to spend their money recklessly. A considerable number of the Indians own automobiles and spend a good deal of their time in the near-by commercial centers, especially in Sioux City, where they find opportunity for diversion of a kind that is far from edifying.

³ See under Wisconsin Winnebagos, Ch. IX, § II.

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The conditions described naturally have their effect upon family life and upon the general standard of morality in the tribe. Although 90 per cent. of the marriages are legal, this is principally due to the alertness of Government officials in discovering and controlling irregular relations, and the number of separations is disproportionately high. In a given year, 1920, there were twenty separations out of thirty-two marriages. The appalling prevalence of venereal disease, which affects 85 per cent. of the tribe, is also due largely to the proximity of Sioux City. Vital statistics also show that 10 per cent. of the Indians suffer from tuberculosis and 50 per cent. from trachoma. An abandoned boarding school has been turned into a Government hospital and the services of a physician and trained nurse are available. Housing conditions have greatly improved during the last twenty years, only 5 per cent. of the Indians now living in one-room houses.

The tribe is divided into three well-defined groups: the followers of the medicine lodge; those addicted to the peyote cult; and the Christians. Some 50 per cent. of the tribe are still said to be influenced by the Indian religion. On the other hand, the admirable missionary work which has been going on among these people for a number of years has built up a strong Christian nucleus. In between these two extremes and more potent for evil than even the medicine lodge, stands the peyote cult. The Winnebagos of Nebraska enjoy the unenviable reputation not only of being more addicted themselves to this drug than any other tribe but of displaying a missionary spirit in promoting the use of peyote among Indians of other reservations and communities. At the present time some 400 of the Winnebagos are addicted to the use of the drug. The cult is well organized and draws its leadership from men between the ages of thirty and forty-five, most of whom are semi-educated and many of whom have been to non-reservation schools. The ceremonies used in connection with the cult and the devastating effects of the drug follow the general lines described in Part I, Chapter VI.

The influence of the Indian dances, of which probably not

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less than thirty are held annually, is decidedly demoralizing and at present little effort seems to be made to put any check upon these dances.

The Winnebagos early came into contact with French Jesuits, but, with the exception of the Roman Catholic mission stations in northern Wisconsin early in the nineteenth century, they were without religious oversight until the Presbyterians established a station shortly after the settlement of the Winnebagos upon their present reservation. Even then for a good many years the earnest labors of the missionary were apparently non-productive of results, and the teaching of Christianity encountered bitter opposition from the medicine lodge. In the early 'nineties, however, there were two converts, of whom one, the Rev. Henry Roe Cloud, was destined to play a prominent rôle as a leader of his people. In 1908 Dr. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe, together with the Choctaw evangelist, Rev. Frank Hall Wright, visited the Winnebagos and launched an effective program of evangelism. In that year the Presbyterian mission was turned over to the Women's Board of the Reformed Church in America, which is still responsible for the work. The Episcopalians also entered this field in 1916, organizing a church and opening a mission school in the following year. It was felt, however, that one Protestant denomination was sufficient to care adequately for the field, and since this survey was made the Episcopalians reached a decision to withdraw and the mission and school are now closed.

An analysis of the work of the Reformed Church mission shows the following facts:

Value of church building, \$3,000.

Value of parsonage, \$5,000.

Value of other buildings, \$2,500.

Seating capacity, 275.

Membership, 235 (125 active).

Net gain in 1920, 26.

Average attendance, morning, 150; evening, 70.

Enrollment of Sunday school, 115.

Average Sunday school attendance, 105.

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Other organizations include women's society and a Y. M. C. A.

The Mission personnel includes a trained nurse who visits the school and coöperates with Government agencies.

Home mission aid has been received since organization, and there are no immediate prospects of self-support.

In connection with the St. Augustine Mission School for girls is a small Roman Catholic chapel with 150 members, of whom seventy are white people.

There are no Government schools upon this reservation and a number of the children attend non-reservation schools, especially the one at Genoa, Nebraska. The remaining children of school age are adequately cared for at the two mission schools, the Winnebago mission school (Reformed) and St. Augustine Roman Catholic mission. The former, which was opened in 1916, carries the first six grades and now (1922) has an enrollment of ninety-two. The buildings are well-equipped and instructors well qualified. A tuition fee of \$75 is charged, but deserving pupils, unable to pay the fee, are admitted free. The school curriculum includes religious instruction. St. Augustine mission school, which was opened in 1911, is a school for girls. Its enrollment in 1920 was thirty-five, most of the pupils being from other tribes than Winnebago. The first eight primary grades are carried. It is evident that there is a continuing need for the work of the two mission schools and that they should be powerful factors in the development of native leadership.

OMAHAS

Rather typical of the present state of transition in which so many of the Indian tribes find themselves are the 1,380 Omaha Indians who occupy a reservation of 135,122 acres in Thurston, Cumming and Burt Counties, in the northeastern part of Nebraska. These Omaha Indians are of Siouan linguistic stock and came originally from the region between the Ohio and the Wabash. They moved west of the Mississippi early in the sixteenth century. Their first treaty with the Government, as apart from other Siouan tribes of their group,

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came in 1815. In 1854 they ceded their hunting grounds in Nebraska, retaining a tract of 300,000 acres, of which a strip was sold to the Government for the Winnebagos in 1865. They were allotted lands in severalty on their present reservation by a law of 1882.

All of the Omaha Indians are citizens, but a competency commission has been working intermittently, determining the fitness of the allottees for managing their own affairs. In the past nine years 239 Indians have been declared competent.

As in the case of the Winnebagos and many other Indian tribes, wealth has been by no means an unmixed blessing to these people. Their land is situated in the corn belt and is good for farming, but 700 of the Indians lease their farms and a considerable number of those who have received their lands by patents in fee have sold to the white man. Here one sees the familiar spectacle of graft at the expense of the ignorant or semi-educated Indian. There have been numerous cases of white men enriching themselves by a process of loans at exorbitant rates of interest, followed by foreclosure and a gobbling up of the bulk of the Indian's estate. The situation for the Indians themselves is likely to become serious in another fifteen or twenty years. At present money derived from the sale of their land is plentiful and they are spending it more freely than wisely, often to the detriment of health and morals. Their wealth is, therefore, only temporary and when it has been spent Government officials fear a somewhat distressing situation.

Social contacts, moving-picture theaters, dance-halls, pool-rooms and consequent opportunities for spending money are afforded by the near-by towns of Macy, Walthill, Rosalie and Decatur. Domestically and morally conditions among the Omahas are closely akin to those found among the Winnebagos. Even the prevalence of venereal disease is pretty much the same—from 80 to 85 per cent. Twenty-five per cent. of the population suffers from tuberculosis and 65 per cent. from trachoma. The Government hospital at Winnebago is open to the Indians of this jurisdiction and there is also a Presbyterian mission hospital at Walthill, which, however, on ac-

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count of its distance from the center of Indian population, is not well patronized.⁴

With their neighbors, the Winnebagos, the tribal lines are closely drawn, but there is a certain amount of intermarriage between the Omahas and the Poncas and Santees. The Indian dances are of frequent occurrence, especially during the summer time, and are accompanied by the customary demoralizing results. Nevertheless, very little remains of the old Indian religion and superstition, nor are there any "blanket Indians" on the reservation.

Unfortunately the peyote cult is at least as strong as, if not stronger than, it is among the Winnebagos. Government officials estimate that not less than 50 per cent. of the tribe are addicted to the drug and it is interesting to note that here very little pretense of a religious ceremony is made. The peyote meetings, which are held weekly and sometimes daily, are frankly social in character and the religious element is apparently only introduced on occasions when there are some white visitors in the neighborhood. Another noteworthy feature of the cult on this reservation is the large sums that are expended on it, instances being known of as much as \$1,000 being spent upon a Saturday night's entertainment. The effects noticed are similar to those which have been already described, with one objectionable feature added on this reservation, i.e., that the peyote feasts furnish a rendezvous for public women.

The situation in regard to alcohol is perhaps less well in hand than on most reservations. A considerable amount of bootlegging goes on among both men and women and it is said to be extremely difficult to keep whiskey in some form or other from the Omahas.

Educationally and religiously these people do not enjoy the advantages to which they are entitled and which in their present stage of transition are particularly necessary for them. There are no Government schools on the reservation. Since

⁴ This is a memorial to the self-sacrificing labors of an Indian woman physician—Dr. Susan LeFlesche Picotte.



The Mission Church at Enemy Swim



Service in the Arbor

EPISCOPAL CONVENTION AT ENEMY SWIM, SISSETON RESERVATION



The Sunset Prayer



Camp of Indian Delegates

EPISCOPAL CONVENTION AT ENEMY SWIM, SISSETON RESERVATION

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the closing of the mission and Government schools in 1907 the children have either attended district schools or gone to non-reservation boarding schools. There are fourteen public schools in proximity to Indian homes, but owing to prejudice among the whites the children are not particularly welcome and consequently considerable laxness is shown by the Indian parents in sending their children to school. The result is that during the school year 1919-20, 184 children were not in any school. There are plans now under way for establishing a consolidated school at Macy, where the Indian Agency is situated. This plan, unless a separate school is provided for Indians, would involve dormitory facilities for Indian pupils.

The missionary history of the tribe is a notable one, though too much of it must, perforce, be written in the past tense. The first permanent mission was established by the Presbyterians at Bellevue, Nebraska, about 1845, then the site of an Indian village.⁵ When the tribe moved to its present locality the mission forces moved also, and a boarding school, which was maintained for nearly thirty years, was established on a hill overlooking the Missouri valley. The present mission church near the Agency was built about 1887.

Value of the church property, including land and parsonage, is given as \$7,000. Home mission aid has been received ever since organization. The total membership of this, the only church on the reservation, is sixty, of whom forty are classed as active members and among whom are seven white people. Morning and evening services are held every Sunday, the average attendance being respectively thirty and twenty-five. There is a Sunday school with an enrollment of sixty and an average attendance of 50 per cent. Other organizations consist of a women's missionary society, with a membership of twelve and an attendance of thirty-six, and a Christian Endeavor, with a membership of thirty and an average attendance of twenty. The Presbyterian missionary and his wife constitute the entire personnel who are ministering to the religious needs of the Omahas at the present time.

⁵ When the Omahas left the vicinity of Bellevue, in fulfillment of the treaty of 1854, they donated one square mile to the Presbyterian mission on which Bellevue college stands to-day.

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With only one preaching point and only sixty, out of a population of 1,380, members of any church, it is fairly evident that this field is not adequately covered. With no competing denomination in the field the Presbyterians would seem here to have a unique opportunity for extension work. The lack of Government schools makes the need of a community center all the greater, while a further urgent need is for a field matron, who should have training as a nurse and should make house-to-house calls and win the confidence of the Indians.

PONCAS

The Poncas are noted on Marquette's map of 1673. When found by Lewis and Clark their numbers had been greatly reduced by smallpox, but in 1842 there were about 800 of them. Their subsequent history has been a pathetic one. Constantly harassed by Teton Sioux raids, their number became still further reduced. In 1877, in pursuance of its policy of that time to bring all the Indians to Indian Territory, the Government forcibly removed them from their homes on the Niobrara (near the present site of Niobrara, Nebraska) to what is now the northern part of Oklahoma. Some remained, but others made their way back to their native lands, notably Standing Bear and his followers, bearing the bones of his son for burial on native soil. In 1880 a duly appointed commission looked into this matter; the small band was permitted to remain and land was allotted in severalty, 27,236 acres in Knox County to 136 Poncas.

The present population of the tribe is 338, a figure which shows practically no increase since 1910. The whites are settled among the Indians, and it is hardly possible to speak of a distinctively Indian community life. Liquor and peyote have wrought havoc among the Poncas, possibly one-third being addicted to the use of peyote. Economically these Indians are fairly well off. They live in frame houses, wear store clothes and no poverty seems apparent, though their scale of living is low. The public schools are open to the children, but few attend. The majority are enrolled at the Genoa non-reserva-

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tion school, while a few also attend the Santee mission school.

This band of Poncas has been under the tutelage of the Episcopalians and Congregationalists for a number of years. The former entered the field about 1867. The latter formerly carried on extension work from the Santee Normal and Training School, fourteen miles distant, and services were held in a schoolhouse with about twenty-five members and fifty adherents. With the removal of the school building services ceased and during the past two years no Congregational work of an organized character has been going on.

The Episcopalian work was at one time in charge of the native priest at Santee, but more recently has been turned over to a white minister, who lives in Niobrara and who, in addition to this Indian charge, has two white parishes, the one at Niobrara and another at Creighton. The old Indian church burned to the ground a few years ago and since then services for the Indian communicants have been held at the Niobrara church, the only time available being Sunday afternoon once a month. The missionary estimates that there are 125 communicants. With the virtual withdrawal of the Congregationalists, this field is open for aggressive work on the part of the Episcopalians.

Though the present outlook may seem rather hopeless under the limitations put on the missionary-in-charge, there is no reason why the Poncas may not have a new lease on life and a future full of hope and promise. While a distinctively Indian mission may not be in order, a community worker, serving in close touch with the white churches, could be the means of reaching the "scattered sheep" now living on their farms along a twelve-mile stretch in the Niobrara country.⁶

⁶ The following vote, touching on the Poncas, was passed at the Sioux Falls Survey Conference:

"Whereas, the survey has called our attention to the fact that the Poncas of Nebraska are without adequate missionary oversight, and

"Whereas, we recognize that the diocese of Nebraska of the Protestant Episcopal Church is entirely responsible for the religious care of these Indians, many of whom are members of the peyote cult, therefore, be it

"Resolved, that we call the attention of the Bishop of Nebraska to these Ponca Indians and their needs."

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SANTEE SIOUX

Belonging to the great Dakota nation, the Santee Sioux (Isanyati) left their northern Minnesota home on account of pressure from the Chippewas about the year 1760, migrating southwards. In 1851, after various treaty negotiations with the Government, they were settled in two agencies at Lac Qui Parle and Redwood, coming, in common with others of the Sioux family, at an early date under civilizing influences. Their progress was violently disturbed by the Sioux uprising in 1862, accompanied by the massacre at Spirit Lake, Minn., in which, however, no Christian Indians were involved. Driven from Minnesota by the insistence of the inhabitants, the Santees, after a sojourn in prison camps and wanderings over the prairies of South Dakota, were finally, in 1866, placed on the reserve which bears their name in northern Nebraska.

The reservation consists of 21,586 acres, all of which is allotted. The land is hilly and badly broken in the north, but where it has been cleared for cultivation the soil is fertile. Much of it, however, is rendered useless by the frequent floods of early spring, and a marked disadvantage is the inaccessibility of the reservation, the nearest railroad point to the west being Niobrara, eighteen miles distant, across roads which are barely passable during the winter. To the north is Springfield, South Dakota, just across the Missouri, which is fairly accessible by ferry boat in summer and across the ice in winter. When the ice breaks, however, or the floods come, the Santee reservation is absolutely isolated from the rest of the world. There are a post office and two or three trading stores at Santee village.

Upon this reservation live 1,171 of the Santee Sioux, all of whom are citizens, although a number are still under Government supervision. Approximately 125 of the Indians lease their farms or allotments, but the Indians are encouraged by the Government farmer to farm their own lands. On the whole they are prosperous and have shown themselves adapta-

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ble to the ways of civilization.^{6a} In their domestic relations they have at times been held up as examples to other tribes, but although the old Indian custom marriages have long since disappeared there has been noticed of late years an increasing looseness in the observance of marital ties and several cases of illegitimacy have been brought to the attention of the authorities. This let-down in morals is thought, however, to be merely temporary and the fact remains that the position of the Indian women among the Santees is not less desirable than that of their white sisters in the average community, a result which can safely be attributed to the faithful work of Christian missionaries who have been among these people since 1834.

Housing conditions compare favorably with those in white communities of a similar kind. At the time this survey was made there were forty-four cases of tuberculosis and 151 cases of trachoma. The Indians are well taken care of by a Government physician. Occasional indulgences in moonshine whiskey and patent medicines containing a large percentage of alcohol present no serious problem. There is no gambling to speak of and no commercialized prostitution. Indian dances are held occasionally, but they are without significance and do not seem to be productive of harmful results. None of the medicine men are left in the tribe and very few of the Indians have any belief in the old superstitions and practices.

Surrounded on all sides by their white neighbors, they mingle freely and without race prejudice. Nominally at least, a majority of them are Christians and all have come under Christian influence. The first mission established among the Sioux was that of the American Board in 1834, near Calhoun, Min-

^{6a} An interesting experiment in citizenship was made by twenty-five families of Santees in 1869, when they left the agency to take homesteads and become citizens. The location selected was on the Big Sioux River, near the present site of Flandreau, S. D. The following year they were joined by thirty-five more families. In 1871 a Presbyterian church of 100 members was organized among them by Rev. J. P. Williamson. Soon there was also an Episcopal church. Some of the homesteads were never proved up on; others were sold. To-day some families still remain, but the majority have left. The two churches maintain their organizations and are ministered to by native workers.

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nesota. With the story of missions to these people the names of Dr. T. W. Williamson and Dr. S. R. Riggs and their wives are inseparably associated. At the time of the Sioux outbreak, in 1862, three church organizations had been established with sixty-five native members. After the outbreak was quelled and while the Santee Sioux were undergoing imprisonment at Fort Snelling, a revival broke out, and missionaries continued their work when the Santees were placed on their new reservation in Nebraska. In 1870 the Santee Normal Training School was founded and the first Santee church was organized.

The history of the Episcopal mission to these people dates back to 1860, when Bishop Whipple established a school at Redwood. At the present time there are on the Santee reservation three Episcopal and two Congregational churches, the church buildings, land and parsonages being valued at \$26,410. The total membership of the five churches is given at 538, 310 being known as active and twenty-six members being white people. All churches hold Sunday morning services and two also hold evening services. The native language is used at times but not as much as formerly. The young people seem to prefer services in English. Organizations within the churches include three Sunday schools having an enrollment of 177; seven men's organizations with a total membership of 240; five women's organizations with a membership of 209; four junior organizations for boys and girls, and one temperance society with a mixed membership. Home mission aid to the extent of \$3,474 is received.

Besides the Congregational and Episcopal churches there also is a Roman Catholic work among the Santees which, however, has never been as influential as that of the other churches.

The educational needs of the Santees are provided for by eight district schools and one mission school.⁷ The Santee Normal and Training School, already mentioned as estab-

⁷ The Hope School, at Springfield, S. D., originally an Episcopalian mission school for girls, now a Government institution, enrolls a number of Santee girls. It is classed as a non-reservation school. See Appendix II, § I.

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lished under the American Board in 1870, was transferred to the American Missionary Association in 1883. The total enrollment is 133—fifty-nine boys and seventy-four girls. The first ten grades are carried, and in addition there is a Bible department and a two years' course maintained by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions for the training of native leaders. Active Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.'s help in the development of the students. There is also a correspondence school enrolling 190 members. Industrial training is emphasized and there is an efficient staff of ten teachers. Bible study is part of the curriculum. The religious affiliations of the pupils are as follows: Congregational, 32; Presbyterian, 17; Episcopal, 18; Reformed Church, 4; Roman Catholic, 3; Unattached, 41. The principal handicap under which this school labors is its inaccessibility, while on account of lack of financial support the equipment leaves something to be desired. Nevertheless, the school does excellent work. The suggestion has been made that the school should be moved to the vicinity of a college community such as Yankton or Huron, but as yet no definite steps in this direction have been taken.

III: *Indians of Iowa*

SAC AND FOX

Originally living along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and in the seventeenth century found in the vicinity of what is now Green Bay, Wisconsin, this once powerful tribe, which aided the British against the French and later the Colonists against the British, is now reduced to a pitiable remnant living on a small reservation in Tama County, Iowa.⁸ Even for the 3,337 acres of their present lands the Sac and Fox Indians are not indebted to the United States Government. In 1804 they ceded their lands east of the Mississippi for the paltry sum of \$1,000, a deal which resulted in many subsequent misunderstandings and which, in part at any rate, was responsible for the Black Hawk War. In 1837 another treaty

⁸ For Sac and Fox in Oklahoma, see page 177.

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was concluded by which these tribes were to be moved west of the Missouri. By 1859, however, some of them had returned to Iowa and between that date and 1896 they purchased out of their own funds the thirty-three small tracts of land which now form their only tribal domain. This land is held in common by the tribe, the population of which is now 358, none of whom are citizens; and the jurisdiction over the band has been ceded by the legislature of Iowa to the Federal Government.

In the past this tribe has been known for its stubborn refusal to adopt the ways of the white man. Nevertheless, 30 per cent. of the Indians now cultivate some land, part of which is fertile and consists of rich bottom land which is well adapted for small grain. Some bead work is done by the women and in winter the men go trapping. None, however, live exclusively by Indian pursuits, and none suffer from poverty.

Legal marriages form 95 per cent. of those contracted, but this satisfactory situation is less owing to the natural inclination of the Indians than to a species of *force majeure* applied by Government officials who are able to hold over the heads of delinquent bridegrooms the threat of withholding annuity money. Only a small proportion of the Indians live in houses. The majority prefer the wickiup, which is a combination of the old wigwam and a one-room frame structure. The tribe has shown a decrease in population since 1910, this being mainly attributable to losses in the influenza epidemic and from tuberculosis. At the present time, however, tuberculosis is said to affect only 2 per cent. of the tribe, while trachoma affects 5 per cent. There is good medical attention available, but the Indians rely largely on their own medicine men, in whom they still believe.

In general, despite their backward condition and the fact that 80 per cent. are under the control of the old Indian religion, the Sac and Fox Indians are a law-abiding people. Their worst vice is said to be gambling, which is almost universally indulged in. Alcohol does not present a grave problem, as drunkenness is frowned upon by the Indians themselves, nor do the Indian dances upon this reservation lead to

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any evil results, except perhaps waste of time. On the other hand, peyote has extended its pernicious influence to this tribe, its adherents numbering between thirty and sixty, and the cult is said to be the most important influence in molding public opinion. Officials of the Indian Service complain of the difficulty of bringing even petty criminals to justice owing to the fact that the Iowa criminal code is not applicable to crimes committed on this reservation.

Educational needs of the Sac and Fox Indians are cared for by two Government day schools while the public schools are also open to the Indian children providing they pay tuition. When this survey was made twenty-three children were attending non-reservation schools. The day schools, which carry the first three grades, have an enrollment of thirty and twenty-four respectively. A half-hour a week is set aside for religious instruction, which is provided by missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church.

The Sac and Fox sanatorium at Toledo, Iowa, which is maintained for incipient tubercular Indian children, should be mentioned under this head. Originally built as a boarding school for the Sac and Fox tribe in 1897, in 1914 the building was transformed into a sanatorium for the general use of tubercular Indian children. At the present time twelve tribes are represented among the eighty patients which the institution can accommodate. Occasional school work is provided for those who are able to attend, but the primary purpose of the institution is health, education being only secondary. The patients receive religious care at the hands of the Roman Catholic and near-by Protestant missionaries. It seems an unfortunate circumstance that this admirable institution should be handicapped and its equipment be impaired by lack of more generous annual appropriations.

The missionary work on this field, which was started by the Presbyterians, was turned over to the Women's Board of the United Presbyterian Church in 1904. The church was organized in 1909 and meetings have been held in the commodious parsonage. Recently, however, a new church building has been dedicated, the first to be erected among these people.

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The Indians have not yet reached a point where they contribute anything to the support of the church, all funds being provided by the Home Mission Society. The total on the present church roll is thirty-five, most of them being young people. Two services are held on Sunday—Sunday school in the morning and church service in the evening. Since the church building is now a reality, the next forward step would be the development of a definite program of community work among these people. This and the allotment of their land in severalty in order to provide greater incentive for individual effort appear to be the two outstanding needs of this backward tribe.

IV: Indians of South Dakota

YANKTON

The Yankton Sioux form one of the seven primary divisions of the Dakota tribe, constituting, with the closely related Yanktonai, the middle group. While a majority of the Yanktons were originally on the reservation known by that name they are now widely scattered on various Sioux reservations. To-day the Yankton reservation, situated in Charles Mix County, exists in name only. By the end of 1890 there had been allotted to 2,613 Indians at Yankton 268,263 acres, the residue being thrown open to settlement. To-day practically two-thirds of the land originally allotted to the Yankton Sioux has passed from their hands into those of white settlers.

The population is 1,927, all of whom are citizens, and has increased slightly since 1900. The land on the Yankton reservation is well adapted for agriculture, much of it being worth \$100 to \$150 per acre. In going over this region one sees cornfield after cornfield and everywhere indications of thrift. Very few old log houses remain. In their place are the comfortable five- and six-room frame dwellings. The problem of sanitation, therefore, is not as acute as on the more backward reservations, and health conditions are above the average.

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The longer contact with civilization has brought many material blessings to the Yanktons. Their animal resources, consisting of horses, hogs, cattle and poultry, are valued at \$329,229. Practically no poverty is in evidence.

Christian influences should have raised the standards of home life among these Indians to a far higher plane than on the other Sioux reservations. Unfortunately, however, the vices of civilization have also obtained a hold among the Yanktons. Divorce is too common and too quickly resorted to, and the Indian dance still has a place in social and community activities, the most pernicious form being the "give away."

Peyote was introduced about ten years ago from the Winnebago reservation, and the cult claims between forty and fifty adherents. Meetings are held weekly in the homes of members. Fortunately the evil is not spreading. Both Church and Government agencies are arrayed against it.

In 1919 the boarding school was closed and now the Yanktons depend almost entirely on the district day schools, although a few send their children to non-reservation schools, such as Flandreau, and others to mission schools such as Santee. Recently a Roman Catholic mission school, known as St. Paul's, has been opened. Thus far it is planned as a day school with a church adjoining. At the time this survey was made 300 children were attending district schools and about seventy-five were out of school. Enough district schools exist to give school facilities to every child, but attendance is not up to standard because of failure to enforce the truancy laws. It is the old story of the white people, on the whole, not being favorable to enforcement of school attendance on the part of the Indians, and the Indians themselves not yet being sufficiently advanced to feel keenly about education.

Religiously, the Yanktons are ministered to by the Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. The last have two churches, while the Episcopalians have three and the Presbyterians four. It was to this field that the late Dr. John P. Williamson, of the Presbyterian church, often called "a brother to the Sioux," devoted forty years of his rich and fruitful life. The fine church buildings (especially at Green-

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wood), the native leadership, the practice of stewardship, the native missionary societies and the extension work which has been carried from this center to other Sioux reservations, all bear testimony to the life and labors of this man of God. The Superintendent of the Episcopal mission has also had a long and enviable record of efficient work on this field. Protestant missions were begun here in 1869. Between 1870 and 1893 the seven Protestant churches were organized.

The church buildings are notable, their cost being set at \$21,000, or an average of \$3,000 each. There are 432 acres of land in connection with the churches, valued at \$33,600, and four other buildings used for parish work cost \$5,800. The seating capacity is 885. On the material side, therefore, the Yankton churches are above the average. Five receive some form of home mission aid, an average of \$493 per church. The receipts for the year past were \$4,499, of which \$3,887 was received from collections, all but one church using the collection method; the expenditures showed a like amount, with \$1,030 going toward home missions and \$938 for other benevolences. In membership these seven churches show a good record, 746; an average of 106 per church. All but one hold weekly Sunday services, with an average attendance of one-half of the recorded membership. As a rule the native language is used in the morning, and English in the evening. All but one church are served by native pastors, two having been in their present parishes more than ten years. Four Sunday schools are reported, with a total enrollment of 102. Men's and women's organizations are an element of strength. There are four Y. M. C. A.'s⁹ with a membership of 155; three St. Andrew's Brotherhoods and two Brotherhoods of Christian Unity, the membership being eighty-six. The Women's Societies and auxiliaries number seven, with a membership of 252, meeting weekly. The work of the women is perhaps the most outstanding feature of the church work.¹⁰ Three young people's societies are

⁹ The origin of the Indian Y. M. C. A. is of interest. On April 27, 1879, there gathered a group of Christian Indian young men on the banks of the Sioux River, Flandreau, S. D., to organize themselves for service. They chose the name Koska Okodakiciye and later became affiliated with the Y. M. C. A. This movement has identified itself very closely with the Church, especially among the Dakotas. For a number of years native field secretaries were employed to supervise the work. The International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. has also during the past ten-year period employed a secretary to encourage and promote this work.

¹⁰ See under Rosebud.

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also organized for work. Some of the problems mentioned by the pastors are: "education," "morality," "harmony among people," "coöperation with pastor." All but one views the future of the work as hopeful.¹¹

SISSETON

The Sisseton and Wahpeton Indians, living on a reservation of 308,838 acres, situated in parts of Roberts, Marshall, Day and Grant Counties, near Lake Traverse in South Dakota, are of the Isanyati, Santee or Eastern Division and, like the latter, came under the white man's influence at an early day.¹² The character of their reservation, all of which is allotted, is generally rolling and hilly in the western portion and plentifully interspersed with small lakes. East of the hills is fine undulating prairie and good farming land. All of the 2,392 Indians are citizens, although Government restrictions are still placed upon much of the land. It seems probable, however, that these restrictions will soon be lifted and all but a few of the Indians be free of Government supervision. There has been a slight increase in population during the last ten years.

The territory has been opened for settlement for some years, and in addition a good many white people have purchased land from the Indians. These circumstances, combined with the fact that most of the Indians lease part of their land, have brought a large number of white people to the reservation and caused the Indians to mix freely with them. The result is that general conditions of living among the Indians are not noticeably different from those obtaining among the white population. A large part of the income of the Indians is derived from the leasing of their lands, but farming and dairying are also a considerable source of revenue, as well as wages from general labor and work on farms. In 1920 the Indians were credited with the ownership of 1,265 horses and 530 cattle.

¹¹ Since this survey (1921) the Yanktons have been somewhat upset by the coming of the "Holy Rollers," a religious organization, whose tactics have confused their conceptions of Christianity and their attitude toward the churches already organized among them.

¹² See under Santee Sioux and Yankton.

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The State laws in regard to marriage and divorce are fairly well enforced, but separations are frequent and appear to be on the increase. Nevertheless, the position of the Indian woman in this tribe is pretty much the same as that of her white neighbors. Housing conditions are on the whole fairly good. Very few families live in houses of only one room, but many of the houses are unsanitary and poorly kept. In consequence, tuberculosis is very prevalent. An official estimate gives the percentage affected as high as 80, and 65 per cent. of the population are afflicted with trachoma. A Government physician is responsible for the general health of the people, but many of the Indians appear to prefer to call in a doctor from neighboring communities.

The three Indian dance-halls on the reservation furnish the only centers for recreational activities besides the churches and public schools. There are, however, two or three small towns, notably Sisseton in Roberts County, at which moving-picture theaters and pool-rooms provide entertainment.

All Indians are subject to the State laws, and coöperation between the agency and county officials is good, nor is there noticed any discrimination between white and Indian before the courts. In general the situation in regard to crime is fairly satisfactory. The most frequent cause of arrest is found to be cases of immorality, while a good many arrests are also made for gambling, which is very prevalent among the men. The situation in regard to alcohol has shown great improvement in the last few years, although a certain amount of moonshine is still consumed. The Indian dances, which are held monthly, following the payment of lease money, present something of a problem. Here, as elsewhere, the "give-away" dances, which are a feature of these monthly celebrations are pernicious in their influence, while the "Indian two-step," which is becoming very popular, is degrading and conducive to immorality.

All of the Indian children attend the district public schools, of which there are fifty-five in the neighborhood, and a marked improvement has recently been noticed in the Indian attendance. Unfortunately, the schools were built with refer-

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ence to the needs of the white children and are often at a considerable distance from Indian settlements. There are no Government schools on the reservation, but a number of Sisseton children attend Government non-reservation schools at Wahpeton, Pipestone and Flandreau.

As was noted in the case of the Santees, these Sisseton Indians have been under missionary influence since early times. The Presbyterians established their missionary work in 1868 and the Episcopalians a few years later. There are to-day eleven Indian churches within the boundaries of the reservation—seven Presbyterian and four Episcopal. The Roman Catholics also have a limited work among the Sissetons, their mission station being St. Matthews, near Veblen, and the estimated number of adherents being one hundred. Four of the Protestant churches have parsonages and a new church was recently built with money raised entirely by Indians. In connection with the Episcopal churches are four guild buildings. The churches are served by native pastors, but two of them have been pastorless for four and five years, respectively. All the services are conducted in the native tongue. Financial records are very incomplete as none of the churches use the budget system or weekly envelope in any form, but the annual receipts for each individual church average \$273, entirely raised by subscriptions and collections. The salaries of the pastors average \$393, the maximum being \$840 and the minimum \$120. The total membership on the church rolls is 1,038, an average of eighty-seven per congregation. Other church organizations include five Sunday schools; six organizations for men, such as Y. M. C. A., St. Andrew's Brotherhood and Brotherhood of Christian Unity, with a total membership of 129, and six women's societies with a membership of 202. One church also has a young people's missionary society. All the churches hold morning services on Sunday, three hold afternoon meetings and one an evening service. The average attendance at the morning service is forty-three.

In view of the fact that practically every Indian on this reservation has some church affiliation, the aim of the Church here is not so much to increase membership as to make the

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Church a vital factor in the life of the individual member. A more effective church organization would be achieved if attention were focussed upon (a) better financial methods, (b) religious education, including better organized Sunday schools, (c) a modern rural church program, especially at some center from which the results might be made available for other Sioux reservations, and (d) a program of young people's work which would interest the 1,125 returned students who offer the most acute moral problem on the reservation at the present time.

ROSEBUD RESERVATION

Long before the days of the gold seeker, with his prairie schooner and his slogan, "California or bust!" the Teton Sioux, of which the Rosebud Indians are a part, had established their claim by "right of occupation and conquest" to the trans-Missouri country as far west as the Rockies. Huntsmen and warriors, ranging in search of game over the western prairies, they gave to their hunting ground their tribal name, "The Dakotas."

In 1868 a treaty was concluded with these Plains Indians by which a tract of land was assigned to them known as the Great Sioux reservation and covering an area of approximately 22,000,000 acres. The story of how this reservation was diminished piecemeal and the treaty of 1868 regarded as "a scrap of paper" need not be told here. It was a bad business and involved the tragedy at Little Big Horn and Custer's fight in 1876. New agreements were made in 1889, 1904, 1908 and 1911, all of which led to the opening of additional acreage for settlement in the Rosebud country.

At the present time the Rosebud reservation consists of 1,867,706 acres, situated in the southern part of the state, in Mellette, Todd, Tripp and Gregory Counties. These acres are mostly rolling prairie land with rough and broken places along the streams and in the "bad lands" sections. The soil is heavy, with little sand, and adapted only in parts to dry farming. It is, however, wonderful grazing land and some 700,000

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acres are given over to this purpose. The total valuation of the individual and tribal property on the reservation, according to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is \$9,240,779. The stock owned by the Indians is valued at \$869,339. Of the total population of 5,466 Indians, distributed among 1,725 households, 1,018 are engaged in stock-raising. A few of the Indians depend upon dry farming for their livelihood and seventy are employed by the Government Indian Service. There is, as a matter of fact, very little real poverty on this reservation, although 1,875 Indians still receive rations. Of these, 215 receive them in return for labor, and the balance consists of the old, destitute and sick. It is satisfactory to note that the number receiving rations decreases from year to year. Another satisfactory feature on this reservation is that, although constant efforts are made by white men, often successfully, to persuade the Indians to sell their land for "a mess of pottage," usually in the form of a high-powered automobile, there appears at the present time to be no serious commercial exploitation of the Indians.

Of the fifteen trade centers which may be designated by the names of towns on or within reach of the reservation, nine are situated on the branch of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad which runs through part of the Rosebud territory, the principal town being Winner, which is the terminus of the railroad. In general, however, the country is undeveloped, and townships have not yet been fully organized. The roads, although of the unimproved dirt type, are generally passable for the wagon or automobile during the summer and autumn months, since the country is semi-arid. The pool-rooms in the various small towns naturally form a rendezvous for the Indian youth, and the Indian dances, especially the big annual affair on the Fourth of July, exercise a great drawing power. Nevertheless, community activities in general center principally in the schools and churches.

In their family life these Indians are rapidly adopting the forms and, to a large extent, the spirit of civilization. Not so many years ago plural marriages were not uncommon in the

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case of the chief or some of the outstanding braves. At the present time the old Indian marriages are few in number. Almost all are entered into according to legal form, and the position of woman has improved greatly in the course of the last twenty-five years. There are few legal divorces, since the Indian is likely to become impatient at the long road that leads to legal separation. The consequence is that a large number of irregular separations occur.

Housing conditions are on the whole satisfactory. There are 1,700 permanent houses on the reservation, including log houses and modern four-room cottages, of which 475 have wooden floors. A very few tepees were noticed at the time of the survey and these are used principally in the summer time. Health conditions are hardly as satisfactory. Out of the 5,466 Indians, 1,180 are said to be affected by tuberculosis and 400 by trachoma. There is one hospital under Government auspices and a physician and four field matrons. The Indians coöperate with these agencies but frequently prefer to call in physicians from near-by townships.

Since most of the Indians are living on a similar economic plane, little, if any, class feeling is observable, nor are tribal lines closely drawn. Intermarriage takes place to some extent between different tribes as well as between Indians and whites. On the part of the latter there is little race prejudice observable except a certain amount of feeling against enrolling Indian children in the public schools.

Very little crime is reported among the Indians of the Rosebud reservation. The liquor situation appears to be well under control and what gambling exists is vigorously opposed by Government agencies. There is no commercialized prostitution, although a good deal of immorality goes on. The Indian dances are pernicious in their effects, often breeding indolence, a false sense of generosity and immorality. Upon this, as on neighboring reservations, the peyote cult has obtained a hold, numbering forty followers. Its meetings are held in homes and both men and women are admitted. The old Indian religion influences only a very small percentage of the population and may be regarded as practically extinct, except for occasional

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sporadic outbreaks of superstition such as were evinced during the "Messiah Craze" in 1890.

The number of children of school age is 1,354, and these are adequately cared for by fourteen Government day schools, one Government boarding school and two mission schools. One hundred and nine pupils attend non-reservation schools.

1. *Government day schools*: total enrollment, 206; first three grades carried; 150 Protestants; fifty-two Roman Catholics; four unattached. The missionaries are permitted to give instruction two hours a week to the pupils of their denominations.

2. *Rosebud boarding school*: located at Mission; enrollment in 1920, 171, ninety-one boys, eighty girls; first six grades carried; 137 Protestants; thirty-four Roman Catholics. Near-by missionaries conduct religious services. The curriculum includes agriculture, stock-raising, carpentry, engineering, shoe- and harness-making and gardening for the boys and home economics for the girls. A combination of local conditions has made this school somewhat unpopular with the Indians, a general unwillingness on the part of the parents to send their children away to school apparently being the underlying cause. There were fifty desertions during the school year 1919-20. Recently a fire destroyed several buildings and the school was temporarily closed during the school year 1921-22.

3. *St. Mary's mission school*: Episcopal boarding school for girls at Mission; was first established at Santee, Nebraska, in 1869 and was later moved to Rosebud; first eight grades carried; religious instruction included in curriculum. The equipment is good and the spirit of the school wholesome.¹³

St. Francis Contract Mission Boarding School is a Roman Catholic institution and serves as the cornerstone of the Catholic mission work on the Rosebud reservation. It has the largest enrollment of any of the so-called Government contract schools, having a capacity of 375, an enrollment of 370 and an average attendance of 293 during the school year 1921-22. It is a contract school in the sense that money has been appropriated for its support from the proceeds of the Rosebud

¹³ As this volume was ready for press, word was received that this school had been destroyed by fire.

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reservation account of March 2, 1907. More recently funds for its support have come from the "Rosebud Three Per Cent. Fund," which was derived from the sale of land in Mellette County. The school is, therefore, supported by funds coming directly or indirectly from the Rosebud Indians and this fact is responsible for a certain amount of friction between Catholics and Protestants upon the reservation, since it is alleged that the Protestant Indians have to give their pro rata share for the support of the school.¹⁴ Apart from the unfortunate sectarian controversy, the work done in the St. Francis school appears to be admirable. In addition to instruction in common school subjects rudimentary industrial work for the boys and home economics for the girls are taught. The teachers are sincere and devoted to their work and have high ideals for the Indian children under their charge.

¹⁴ The status of these contract schools is explained by the following quotations:

"Until 1870 all the Government aid for education passed through the hands of the missionaries. The first contract school was established in 1869. At first only day schools were conducted; then followed reservation boarding schools, and later boarding schools at a distance from the Indian country. These contract schools were abandoned June 30, 1900. Religious societies, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, now take care of their own schools, and pay their employees from the mission funds of their several denominations."—T. C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail," page 218.

"Several years after the enactment of the law putting an end to public appropriations for contracts with mission schools, a question was raised whether this prohibition applied to tribal funds as well as Government money raised by taxation for public purposes. The Attorney-General gave his opinion that it did not. Accordingly President Roosevelt ordered that an Indian who was entitled to participate in a tribal fund should be permitted to contribute his share, or any part of it, toward the support of any mission school he preferred. Two denominations, the Catholics and the Lutherans, took advantage of the order, and presented petitions numerously signed by Indians interested in some particular school, praying for the diversion of so much of their respective shares as might be necessary to support and educate a certain number of children at that school. In order to test the right of the executive to make such a diversion of trust funds, even on the petition of the wards, the Indian Rights Association brought suit in the names of sundry Indians of the Sioux nation to enjoin the Government from entering into contract with the schools in their neighborhood. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States, which decided against any restraining order, substantially confirming the administration's claim that the money belonged to the Indians, and was properly subject to expenditure in the executive discretion for purposes promotive of their civilization."—Francis E. Leupp, "The Indian and His Problem," page 297.

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Missionary work was first established on the Rosebud reservation by the Episcopalians in 1875 and four churches date from that year. In 1885 the Congregationalists entered the field and in 1887 the Presbyterians. The Roman Catholics also have a strong work in this field, the center of which, as was noted above, is the St. Francis contract mission school. The Roman Catholic services are held at twelve points. There are four priests in charge of the mission and 3,000 adherents are claimed. The data on the Protestant churches may be summarized as follows:

*Location and Number:*¹⁵

COUNTY	DENOMINATION	NUMBER
Mellette	Congregational	3
"	Episcopal	9
Tripp	Episcopal	3
"	Presbyterian	2
Todd	Episcopal	12
"	Congregational	3
Gregory	Episcopal	1
"	Congregational	1

Total: Episcopal, 25; Congregational, 7; Presbyterian, 2; = 34.

Material Equipment:

Thirty-two buildings, two of stone and twenty-three permanent; average seating capacity, 59; five churches have two rooms; value of church buildings, \$30,150; parsonages number twenty-four, with average value of \$370.80; one parish house.

Missionaries and Native Pastors:

Four white missionaries; twenty-eight native pastors, of whom nineteen follow some other occupation. Three churches pastorless; thirteen catechists listed.

¹⁵ In twenty-five communities more than one Indian church is listed, twelve of these being Roman Catholic. The large majority of Indians live more than two miles from their church, some families living from twenty-five to thirty miles distant.

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Salaries:

PASTORS RECEIVING	WITH OTHER OCCUPATIONS	WITHOUT OTHER OCCUPATIONS
No salary	—	1
Less than \$50	7	1
\$51-\$100	5	4
\$101-\$500	7	2
\$501-\$1,000	—	1
\$1,001-\$1,500	—	1

These figures do not include the usual allowance for free parsonages, for the fifteen pastors who have this privilege.

Finance:

Budget system for local expenses used by two-thirds of churches. Nine churches depend on collection method. Twenty-two use some form of the weekly envelope system. Twenty-nine contribute to missions and benevolences. Twenty-six receive home mission aid. Twenty-two report this aid as having always been received. Records of thirty churches obtainable show: total annual receipts, \$11,761.37, an average of \$336.04 per congregation; total annual disbursements, \$9,954.53, an average of \$284.43 per congregation. Disposition of receipts and expenditures per active member is shown as follows:

RECEIPTS	AMOUNT	EXPENDITURES	AMOUNT
Subscriptions	\$.04	Salaries	\$3.50
Collections	1.37	Missions	1.01
Miscellaneous sources	4.60	Miscellaneous sources	.47
Total	\$6.01	Total	\$4.98

Membership:

Total on roll of churches, 2,137, of which 1,919 are classed as active members; average membership per congregation, sixty-two; net gain of thirty-five reported from records of twenty-five churches in 1920.

Organizations Within Churches:

Only one distinctive Sunday school is reported. Several Episcopal churches have a combination Sunday morning service, following the Niobrara course which offers catechetical instruction.¹⁶

¹⁶ The native pastor or catechist is generally in charge. The lesson for the day is printed in two languages, in parallel columns, English and

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Other Organizations:

Ten Brotherhoods of St. Andrew; two women's societies; three Y. M. C. A.'s; thirty-one women's organizations; one boys' organization and two junior auxiliaries for girls.

Church Program:

All of the churches except two hold one or more services each month as follows:

- 2 churches hold one service per month.
- 26 churches hold four services per month.
- 2 churches hold eight services per month.
- 2 churches hold twelve services per month.
- 2 churches hold service occasionally.

34 Total.

It appears evident from the above summary that the church activities of the Rosebud reservation are full and healthy. And this is well, for the Indians of this reservation are in the critical stage of transition and need every bit of help that the church organizations can give them. The most conspicuous needs which the churches might supply are perhaps those of a social and community character. In this scattered and thinly populated territory the churches could hardly render more important service than by the organization of social centers at strategic points and thus capitalize and conserve the gregarious tendency of the Indians. If, however, the churches are to be made attractive social centers a certain amount of remodeling will be found necessary and more adequate social equipment should be provided.¹⁷

Dakota, in order to meet the needs of both the native-speaking and English-speaking constituency. By this method it is thought that the need of catechetical instruction will be met. It is too early as yet to judge the merits of this course as it is yet in the experimental stage, having been in operation less than three years in the majority of the Rosebud churches.

¹⁷ The Sioux Falls Survey Conference, April, 1922, took the following forward-looking action:

"Whereas, we realize the importance of providing wholesome centers of social and recreational life for the Indians and the whites, and

"Whereas, we realize the pressing and critical need for Christian influence and leadership for the Indian young people,

"Therefore, be it resolved that

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In connection with an energetic work for returned students and young people emphasis should be placed upon the adoption of a vigorous Sunday school program in all churches, as well as upon a social program that will appeal to the Indian boys and girls who have been away from home at non-reservation schools.

On account of changes in the population some of the churches appear poorly situated and a re-grouping and possible consolidation of some of them would considerably bring nearer the time when they may be self-supporting without home mission aid.

A very definite and evident need on this reservation is for a well-trained, full-time and better paid leadership. Some two-thirds of the native pastors, as has been seen, are compelled by pecuniary considerations to devote part time to other avocations than the ministry, while those who devote their whole time to the ministry are underpaid.¹⁸

Up to the present there has been little contact among denominations on this field. It is satisfactory, therefore, to find that at the Sioux Falls Conference action was taken looking toward closer coöperation on the part of the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational churches at work on the reservation.¹⁹

"This conference approves the establishment of such centers and commends this matter to the attention of the Continuation Committee."

¹⁸ As affecting the whole matter of native leadership the Sioux Falls Conference voted the following:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this conference that the salaries of the native lay workers are in most cases inadequate to present living necessities, and that every effort should be made to remedy this condition. We believe, however, that the immediate solution lies in encouraging and making possible a large amount of self-support on the part of these workers through farming or other industrial pursuits such as best harmonize with their religious activities. We further believe that the example and influence of such manual effort would be distinctly beneficial to the congregations and in the interest of the highest religious life.

"Whereas, we believe that the end of all missionary effort is a self-supporting native church led by natives of thorough training,

"Therefore, be it resolved that this Conference endorses all efforts to discover and train a native leadership and records its determination to give to such native leaders all the responsibility warranted by their ability and experience."

¹⁹ Growing out of the experiences of this conference it was unanimously

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PINE RIDGE

Conditions on this reservation, upon which 7,267 of the Oglala Sioux are settled, are very similar to those among their kindred upon the Rosebud reservation. The Oglala band shares the history of other bands of the Sioux family, but a noteworthy incident in the history of this reservation was the "Messiah Craze" which reached its culmination here in 1890, when troops were called in to quell the dance fever, when Chief Sitting Bull lost his life and when scores of defenseless Indians were killed in the Chief Big Foot Massacre along the valley of the Wounded Knee.²⁰

Since this disaster, the Oglala Indians have settled down to a peaceful existence on their reservation of 2,525,378 acres in Shannon, Washabaugh and Bennett counties in the southwestern part of the state. Of this vast domain 2,363,813 acres have been allotted. The greater portion of the reservation consists of rolling country broken here and there with gulches. In the northwestern corner are the white clay Bad Lands, which are rugged and suited only for grazing. Across the reservation flows the White River, and along the many little creeks that find their way into this stream the Indians make their homes. No railroad enters the reservation and the chief shipping point is Rushville, Nebraska, on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, twenty-five miles distant from the Agency, which is known as Pine Ridge. There are fourteen postoffices on the reservation and 175 miles of highway are now being built across it.

decided to form a Continuation Committee of six members and the following were chosen:

Rev. Edward Ashley, D.D., Chairman	Prof. F. B. Riggs
Rev. William Holmes	Rev. A. F. Johnson
Rev. Rudolph Hertz	Rev. J. P. Williamson, Secretary.

²⁰ The "Messiah Craze," the chief manifestation of which was the ghost dance, originated among the Paviotso Indians, in Nevada, about 1888, and spread rapidly, under the leadership of a young Paiute Indian called Wovoka. Wovoka claimed to have received a revelation of a new dispensation which would restore the Indians to their old inheritance. The ghost dance, consisting of rhythmic movement of men and women dancers to the time of songs, was a preparation for this event. Hypnotic trances were a common feature of the dance. (See Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, under Ghost Dance.)

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Of the 7,267 Indians living here, approximately 1,000 are citizens. Only a few white people live on the reservation proper. The Indian population has shown a slight increase since 1910. Nearly all of the Indians lease a part of their land, and money so obtained forms the larger portion of their income, which is augmented by wages received from labor. The reservation is ideal for grazing purposes and large herds of stock roam the hills. The Indians themselves own 1,824 horses and 2,665 cattle. A little basket-making forms the extent of the native Indian industries. It is estimated that 10 per cent. of the population suffers from poverty and 700 Indians are on the rations list. This, however, compares favorably with the record of a few years ago when rations were issued to 3,000.

The home life of the Indians on this reservation is comparable with conditions on Rosebud. Housing conditions are perhaps not so good, as 85 per cent. of the families live in one-room houses. It is estimated by Government officials that 35 per cent. of the population are affected by tuberculosis and 70 per cent. by trachoma. It is stated on the reservation, however, that the Government figures for tuberculosis are extremely conservative and unofficial estimates would place the figures a good deal higher. Three Government physicians are responsible for the health of the Indians, and a hospital accommodating ten patients is maintained at the boarding school. The Indians coöperate well with the Government physicians, although the medicine man still finds occupation. Except in Bennett County, where a considerable acreage was opened for settlement in 1912, there is little social contact between the whites and Indians, and intermarriage is rare. Among the Indians themselves no class distinctions exist, and the Indian council exercises a large influence in directing public opinion.

There are no organized communities on the reservation but the population is grouped together in various settlements where are located usually the postoffice, a church, a school and a trading post. Apart from the church buildings and the ten Indian dance-halls which are distributed over the reservation, there are no buildings for recreational purposes. Indian

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dances are held frequently even during the winter. A permit is required for the holding of the dances and a Government official is supposed to be present. The dances are very largely commercialized and it is stated that there are relatively few Indians upon this reservation who at one time or another have not been connected with some variety of Wild West show. Invariably the dances tend to keep alive the old heathen sentiment and all that accompanies it.

Home brew and bootlegging offer somewhat of a problem, but on the whole the situation in regard to alcohol has improved. A good deal of gambling goes on and where the reservation runs along the Nebraska State line moral conditions are reported very bad, with some commercialized prostitution. The peyote cult has invaded this reservation and a serious view of the situation is taken by the missionaries. Both men and women are admitted to the meetings, which are held regularly on Saturday night in private houses. No reliable estimate of the number of adherents of the cult can be given. Estimates made on the reservation vary from ten to one hundred. Although practically all of the Oglala Indians are affiliated in some way or other with the Christian Church or have at least come under its influence, the old Indian religion and superstition still exercise a considerable amount of authority, and the medicine man is often summoned in case of sudden illness and is occasionally in request at funerals.

The number of Indians on this reservation who can neither read nor write the English language is given as 3,350 and the percentage of illiteracy at 50. The number of illiterates is, however, steadily decreasing as the old Indians die off and the influence of the schools is felt. The twenty-four day schools on the reservation, together with the two boarding schools, furnish adequate educational facilities, although, in 1920, 333 children were not in school. It is a fact to be noted with regret that none of the 223 graduates of Government schools living on this reservation can be called outstanding leaders. While none of them can be said to be following the old Indian ways, their influence in general is reactionary. In addition to the pupils enrolled in the Government schools, 107 are attend-

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ing public schools and 139 are in non-reservation Government boarding schools. The number of day schools open varies from year to year owing to irregularity of attendance, the Government ruling being that no school shall be conducted at which the enrollment is less than eight pupils. In the school year 1920-21, during which twenty-three schools were open, the average attendance per school was twenty.

The Government boarding school at Pine Ridge, which was opened in 1881, has a capacity of 214. It offers the six elementary grades and gives half-time instruction in pre-vocational industrial work. Its enrollment for the year closing 1921 exceeded its capacity by forty. Only those pupils who live more than two and one-half miles from a day school are admitted. The following preferences in religious affiliations are shown: Roman Catholic, 35; Episcopal, 163; Presbyterian, 56. The children attend services at their own churches at the Agency village which is half a mile away, and a general assembly chapel service is held each Sunday evening, missionaries from near-by stations being assigned one Sunday each per month. A Young Women's Christian Association is a helpful part of the lives of the school girls. The new gymnasium has made possible the undertaking of an athletic program. Socials are held at the school twice a month at which dancing is the principal form of recreation.

There is a Roman Catholic contract boarding school²¹ at Oglala which offers work up to the eighth grade. The capacity is 240 and the enrollment about the same.

Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics are all at work on the Pine Ridge reservation, the Episcopalians having started their work in 1884 and the Presbyterians two years later. There are to-day fourteen Presbyterian, twenty-eight Episcopal and twenty-four Roman Catholic stations.²²

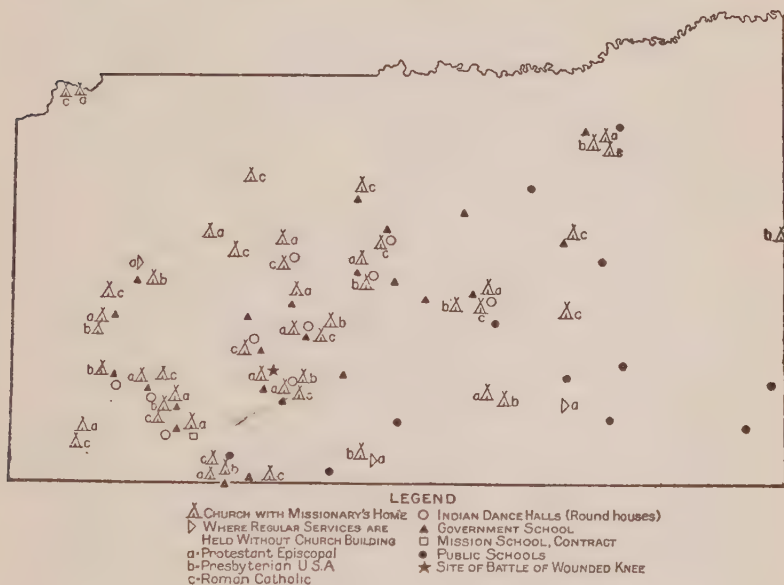
A review of the general situation in regard to the Protestant churches reveals certain outstanding facts. The native

²¹ See under St. Francis School, Rosebud, Footnote 14.

²² The Catholic missionary work centers at the Holy Rosary Mission. Four priests are in charge and the number of Catholic adherents is given as 2,800.

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leadership is devoted but has received little training for the ministry, while many of the men have been in their respective parishes for long periods of years. Hence they are apt to become "preached out," and their eloquence is not of the type that is calculated to hold the interest of the educated young people. A consequence is that very few young people are enrolled in the membership of the churches. It is noticeable



PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, SOUTH DAKOTA

This map illustrates the remarkable development of missions and schools since the days of the "Messiah Craze" and the battle of Wounded Knee, in 1890

that in the so-called men's brotherhoods are to be found very few under the age of twenty-one, nor are there any activities in the church program conducted primarily for young people. Organizations adapted to the needs of the young men and women are urgently needed. The Church has a unique opportunity for initiating a well-directed social program which would bring together the young people as well as their parents and offer worthy substitutes for the Indian dances which at

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present represent the only social activities on the reservation.

Although relations between the two Protestant denominations at work on the reservation are noticeably cordial, there is yet no machinery of coördination for the work of the churches. The creation of an inter-denominational council in which matters of common interest would be discussed and allocation of responsibility be made for respective areas of work would materially strengthen the efficiency of the mission program.

Full reports were received in the course of the survey from thirteen of the fourteen Presbyterian stations. The data from the Episcopal stations were not quite so complete. The situation in regard to the work of these two denominations may be epitomized as follows:

PRESBYTERIAN WORK

Churches: The Agency church at Pine Ridge is in charge of a white missionary, who, up to 1917, supervised all fourteen churches. In that year the territory was divided and the eastern half, with six churches, was given to a native missionary. Nine churches are organized and four unorganized. Three churches are likely soon to be abandoned on account of shifting of population and the moving in of white people.

Material Equipment: The total property investment is \$23,475, including 699 acres of land valued at \$8,900. The average valuation per church is \$496 and the average valuation per parsonage is \$485. Six stations use other buildings for church and community purposes, and these have an average valuation of \$546. The average seating capacity is sixty-eight per congregation.

Finances: All receive home mission aid. The total expenditure is \$377 per church, and nine churches contribute an average of \$43 per church to their home mission board, but there are no immediate prospects of full self-support.

Membership: Total membership of thirteen churches is 450.

Service and Attendance: Thirteen churches hold services every Sunday morning; two hold Sunday afternoon services and two hold Sunday evening services. The average attendance is: morning, nineteen; afternoon, thirteen; evening, ten, per church.

Church Organizations: There are Sunday schools in seven churches with an average attendance of eighteen per school. Nine churches have Young Men's Christian Associations with a

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total membership of 147. There are women's organizations in six churches and boys' and girls' organizations in only two.

Pastors: The pastors of all thirteen churches are native Indians except the white missionary at Pine Ridge. All but five follow other occupations, principally farming. Their average salary is \$332.50.

EPISCOPAL WORK

Churches: The field, like the Presbyterian, is divided into two parts. In the western district, with headquarters at the Agency church, are twenty chapels, in the eastern district eight chapels. At four points there are no church buildings but meetings are held in private houses at three points and in a small guild building at the fourth.

Material Equipment: The total value of sixteen buildings in the western district is \$13,100, an average of \$819 per church. Of these sixteen churches, seven have buildings valued at more than \$1,000. Only ten churches have parsonages, with a total value of \$4,600. The five guild buildings are valued at \$1,900. For the eight churches in the eastern district property figures were not available.

Finances: The combined churches gave \$1,600 to outside agencies in 1920, and received from their church board \$3,960.

Membership: In the western district are 2,147 baptized adherents of whom 1,146 are reported as confirmed, making an average of fifty-two confirmed members per church. The eastern district has 1,000 baptized adherents, the number of confirmed members not being reported.

Church Organizations: In each church is an organization of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew for men. Meetings are held weekly, with a district meeting of representatives of all orders every six months. Each church also has a women's auxiliary. A Sunday school is conducted at the Agency church attended largely by boys and girls from the Government school. The Niobrara course is used as a text. This course also serves as a basis of all church services conducted by the church workers. All services, with the exception of those at the Agency church, are conducted in the Dakota language.

Pastors: There is a native worker or catechist in charge of each chapel. Their salaries range between \$10 and \$70 per month.

CHEYENNE RIVER

In 1873 Bishop Hare wrote of the four Sioux tribes who now live on the Cheyenne River reservation: "They have

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hardly taken their first lesson in civilization, are roving and unsettled, and contain within them a considerable element of those who love and glory in lawlessness and violence, and their contact with white men as yet has been so little with good men, and so frequently with the vicious, that its tendency has been rather to confirm than to shake their conceit that their own and not the white man's is the better way."

To-day these same Indians are a peaceable, law-abiding and moderately prosperous people, rapidly becoming emancipated from the old Indian superstition, and all of them, nominally at least, affiliated with the churches either as adherents or as members. In 1909, 1,615,800 acres of the Cheyenne River reservation were opened for settlement by Presidential proclamation, and at the present time the Indian territory consists of 1,019,841 acres, all allotted, situated south and west of the Standing Rock reservation (q. v.), with the Missouri River on the east and the Black Hills country on the west. The reservation takes its name from the river on its southern border. Here, in a rolling country, partly mountainous and well adapted to grazing, live 2,763 Indians of the Blackfeet, Miniconjou, Sans Arc and Two Kettle branches of the Sioux. Nearly all of them are engaged in the live-stock business, but a little dairying and farming is carried on, and a few Indians are employed in seasonal labor or permanently in Government service. None live exclusively by those Indian pursuits which at the time Bishop Hare wrote seemed to them so infinitely preferable to the white man's way of living.

No real poverty is apparent on this reservation, although rations are given to a few old and decrepit Indians. On the other hand, it is estimated that 90 per cent. of the families live in houses having only one room. Possibly 25 per cent. suffer from tuberculosis in its incipient stages. Government medical aid is available, but the hospital is poorly located and the medical authorities have not won the confidence of the Indians.

The home life of these tribes is similar to that on other of the Sioux reservations. The young people are finding it difficult to understand the new freedom, and while they have thrown off many of the tribal restraints, they have neither

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the stability nor the high moral standards of their forefathers. The influence of the "vicious" white men, of whom Bishop Hare spoke, is not entirely eradicated. Indeed, it is still effective in such railroad towns as Mobridge, frequented by the Indians for the sake of their dance-halls, pool-rooms and moving-picture theaters. Nevertheless, actual crime is on the decrease, despite difficulties in bringing offenders to justice on account of the overlapping of the State with the Federal jurisdiction. A good deal of bootlegging goes on and a certain amount of gambling.

There is only one Government school on this reservation, and in consequence something like 200 children are without adequate school facilities, although a number are enrolled in non-reservation boarding schools such as Pierre and Rapid City. The Congregational Church for years maintained a mission school known as the Oahe Industrial School, with a capacity of seventy, but this was closed in 1907. The Cheyenne River Government Boarding School, situated at the Agency, has an enrollment of 171 and carries the first five grades. Religious affiliations of the pupils show: Congregational, 10; Roman Catholic, 50; Episcopal, 111. The religious program includes: a general assembly on Sunday held under the auspices of the school, attendance at the near-by mission church for Sunday school, and one hour's religious instruction during the week, the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians assuming responsibility for the religious oversight of their respective groups. The school as a whole suffers from congested conditions and lack of sufficient teachers to carry out the industrial program.

The Episcopal Church mission on this reservation has an honorable record, dating from 1872. To the first missionary, Rev. Henry Swift, the Indians are indebted for their early lessons in agriculture and in the advantages of a settled as opposed to a nomadic existence. Swift's coadjutor, the Rev. R. A. B. Ffennel, met a martyr's death at the hands of some wild Indians during the troublous times of 1876, and his successor died as the result of an accident, and lack of immediate medical attention. The present missionary, the Rev. Edward

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Ashley, who began work with the Sioux in 1874, took charge of this field in 1889 and retains the supervision of it in addition to his duties as Archdeacon of Niobrara.

The Episcopalians at the present time have thirteen stations under supervision of the white missionary. Assisting the latter are two native priests, one native deacon and seven native lay workers. At each station is a women's auxiliary, which meets every week, and there are five chapters of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. The baptized adherents of the thirteen stations number nearly 1,000. Total contributions for 1920 amounted to \$2,960. Total value of ten church buildings, six residences for native workers, land and other property is \$19,870.

In addition to the Episcopalians, the Roman Catholics and the Congregationalists each have a work in this field. The Roman Catholic mission consists of ten stations, the work centering at Corpus Christi Mission. The number of Catholic adherents is given as 640.

The Congregational Mission, like the Episcopal, has a distinguished history, dating from the pioneer mission work, begun in 1871, of Dr. Thomas L. Riggs, a brother of Rev. A. L. Riggs, founder of the Santee Normal and Training School, whose father before him was a pioneer missionary to the Sioux in Minnesota. The mission station was established at Oahe, fourteen miles northwest of Pierre, and here, also, was the mission school, already mentioned, which did excellent work for twenty years, but was abandoned for lack of support. The mission was originally under the American Board, but was later turned over to the American Missionary Association.

The mission consists of six organized stations and two out-stations, under the superintendency of the white missionary. Four native pastors are in charge of the churches. Two churches are vacant, one having been pastorless for ten years and the other for two. Total valuation of six church buildings, five small parsonages and land is \$20,850. Total seating capacity is 375. All receive home mission aid. Amount contributed for benevolences in 1920 was \$770 and amount received from collections was \$1,214. Total membership is 251, the great majority of both men and women being over twenty-one. Four churches hold regular Sunday services morning and evening, two irregular. Native

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language is used by all. No Sunday schools are reported, but in some instances a combination service on Sunday afternoon takes the place of the Sunday school. There are four Y. M. C. A's. with a total membership of 118.

LOWER BRULE AND CROW CREEK

There remain for consideration two of the smaller Sioux reservations in South Dakota. Lower Brule and Crow Creek are situated, one on either side, along the breaks of the Missouri River, not far from Pierre, S. D., the capital of the State. Branches of the Dakota family, known as the Hunkpatina, Miniconjou, Brule and Two Kettle, live on these two reservations. Since conditions among these Sioux are quite similar to those obtaining on the Standing Rock and Cheyenne River reservations, only a brief summary is given here.

Lower Brule has an area of 225,991 acres, of which only 11,201 remain unallotted. The population of 515 has remained stationary since 1910. There is some good farming land along the flats, but little use has as yet been made of it by the Indians. The reservation suffers from being twenty miles from the railroad and having roads that are as yet but trails. Most of the land is leased for haying and grazing purposes. Montana cattle have been shipped in and the white lessees are, as usual, getting satisfactory returns from the mere pittance paid the Indians for rental. Cattle and horses belonging to Indians are worth \$287,805, and there is little absolute poverty on the reservation, since only forty-two old people receive rations.

The Government boarding school has been closed since 1920 on account of small and unsatisfactory attendance. Three public schools, however, are open to Indian children. Roman Catholic children attend the contract school on the Crow Creek reservation.

There are two Catholic and five Episcopal churches on the reservation, the latter having been on the field since 1872. For more than forty years a Santee Sioux from Minnesota has been the Episcopal missionary to these people, having come to them while they were still blanket Indians. He, assisted by

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his devoted wife, has taught them the rudiments of civilization and inculcated the fundamentals of the Christian faith. To conserve the fruits of this faithful pioneer labor and to guide the people through their present period of transition are the outstanding problems of this field.

The five churches report 242 members and 440 acres of land valued at \$7,880, with church buildings valued at \$4,860. Meetings are held weekly with five native pastors and helpers in charge; all contribute to missions and benevolences. There are five women's auxiliaries, with a membership of 140, and one St. Andrew's Brotherhood.

Crow Creek reservation has an area of 278,818 acres, all allotted. The population of 954 has been stationary since 1910. Economically, socially and educationally, the problems are almost identical with those on the Lower Brule reservation. While the tendency to lease land to the whites is apparent, there are nevertheless a number of progressive Indian farmers who are taking a hold of their own affairs and are making a fair success of their farming and stock-raising operations. Cattle and horses furnish the chief sources of revenue, \$435,500 being the estimated value of cattle interests.

The Government boarding school was abandoned in 1920 and two public schools are open to the enrollment of Indian children. There is a Roman Catholic contract school²³ at Stephan, known as the Immaculate Conception School. This school has five buildings, one of which is used as a chapel. The enrollment is fifty-seven. The school is under the auspices of the Benedictine Sisters and the academic work seems to be in competent hands.²⁴

There are five Episcopal, three Roman Catholic and two Presbyterian churches on the reservation and all the Indians are nominally associated with some church. The Episcopalians have been in the field since 1872 and are at present launching a vigorous program under a new superintendent who has been in charge two years.

²³ See under St. Francis School, Rosebud.

²⁴ The main station is at Stephan and reports 324 members.

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Reports from the five Episcopal churches indicate a substantial material equipment, consisting of 290 acres of land valued at \$6,600, churches at \$4,000 and parsonages at \$3,900. The membership is 274—an average of 54 per church. All contribute to benevolences. Four churches report a surplus. Weekly services are conducted, both the English and Dakota languages being used. All but one church have native pastors. This one will in all probability become a white church in time on account of its location. The two Presbyterian churches show the need of more adequate supervision. They are under the Missions Committee of the Dakota Presbytery. If the Indians in the membership of these two churches could be won to the viewpoint of church comity and coöperation it would be far better for the Presbyterians to yield this field entirely to the Episcopalians, whose churches are located conveniently for any of those who are at present Presbyterians to attend.

V: Indians of North Dakota

STANDING ROCK RESERVATION

Famous as the last camping ground of Sitting Bull and the scene of his death,²⁵ the Standing Rock reservation lies partly in North and partly in South Dakota. Its 1,343,071 acres are all allotted, and the entire reservation has been open for settlement for some years. The Indian population, belonging to the Teton Sioux tribe, numbers 3,460, of whom only 546 are citizens. During the last twenty years the tribe has shown a steady increase in numbers.

The general character of the land is rolling and in parts hilly. Two thousand acres of it are well timbered, but the timber is useful only for fuel. The cultivated parts produce good crops of small grains, but stock-raising on the fine grazing land which parts of the reservation afford is the principal industry, and the 4,757 horses and 7,355 head of cattle owned by the Indians are valued at \$610,000. The reservation is crossed by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, which

²⁵ Sitting Bull was shot and killed at the Standing Rock Agency, December 15, 1890, by two members of the Indian police, following an attempt by his people to prevent his arrest in connection with the organization of the Ghost Dance.

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has branch lines from McLaughlin and Cannon Ball, and also by the Yellowstone Highway. Communications by road are very fair, and the reservation is plentifully watered by small streams and creeks flowing into the Missouri, Cannon Ball and Grant rivers. The Agency office is at Fort Yates.

Considerable portions of their allotments are leased by the Indians, and the revenue derived from this source forms the greater part of the yearly income. Wood-cutting, road work and seasonal labor also afford occupation. Some forty of the Indians are engaged in bead work, which finds a ready sale in neighboring towns, but the number following this native industry is decreasing. A few aged or helpless Indians receive monthly rations, but in general there is little poverty.

Domestic and social conditions are much the same as on other Sioux reservations. Possibly a higher standard in marriage relations is noticeable here than, for instance, on Rosebud. Certainly conditions in this respect have shown a vast improvement in the last twenty-five years. Legal marriages are the rule, separations are uncommon—there were only four divorces in 1920—and the position of woman is comparable with the place she holds in rural white communities. Housing conditions might be better, since 50 per cent. of the families live in one- or two-room houses. Similarly, the percentage of the tubercular is too high—34 per cent., while trachoma claims 20 per cent. The coöperation of the Indians with the Government hospital and its two physicians is unfortunately not of the best, since the idea seems to prevail, as it prevails among many uneducated white people, that a hospital is a place to go to when one is ready to die.

There are half a dozen communities of approximately 300 inhabitants each on the reservation—viz., Salem, Shields, Selfridge, Wakpala, Mahto and McIntosh—and these among them provide recreational opportunities to the extent of three Indian dance-halls, seven buildings where commercial dances for both whites and Indians are held, three moving-picture theaters and eight pool-rooms. Among the Indians no marked class distinctions are observable. They mix, however, only with members of the Sioux tribes, and intermarriage between

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Indians and whites is very uncommon. The paramount influence in directing public opinion is found to be the Church.

"Home brew" apparently presents the principal problem which the authorities have to face. Among the white settlers are a number of Russians and Poles who brew their own concoctions, and the Indians are liberally supplied with the means of intoxication. Indeed, it appears doubtful whether drunkenness has diminished at all on this reservation as a result of prohibition. Gambling is also prevalent among the men, and the Indian dances, which are held weekly, both old and young taking part, are regarded by Government and Church agencies alike as a demoralizing influence. On the other hand, the influence of the old Indian superstitions on this reservation is practically negligible.

Educational needs would seem to be adequately taken care of by seventy-eight district schools, which are available to the Indian children, in addition to a Government boarding school at Fort Yates and an Episcopal boarding school at Wakpala. Nevertheless, the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1920 stated that 382 eligible children were not attending school. In view of the fact that the Government boarding school is not filled to capacity, it would seem evident that a more rigorous enforcement of school attendance is needed. It should be noted, however, that the district schools have been located principally with reference to the needs of the white population, and that in many cases the attendance of Indian children involves a long walk. A further consideration is the fact that many Protestant families hesitate to send their children to the Government boarding school on account of its domination by Catholic influence.

Government Boarding School at Fort Yates carries the first six grades and has an enrollment of 184. The capacity is 202. The school is comparable to one of the contract mission schools.²⁶ Roman Catholic sisters in sectarian garb are employees; all pupils attend service at the Catholic church on Sunday mornings, and all but twenty-five of the pupils are of the Catholic faith. The principal states that he would welcome visiting clergymen from

²⁶ See under St. Francis School, Rosebud.

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other denominations to address the school body, but such visits seldom take place. In point of fact, the Catholic Church is the only one at Fort Yates, stations of other denominations being several miles distant, rendering difficult any serious attempt to care for non-Catholic pupils of this school.

Episcopal Boarding School at Wakpala was established 1885, carries the first eight grades and has an enrollment of sixty. The work of this school is handicapped by its small staff of teachers, but since its foundation it has exercised a most beneficent influence on the reservation. The school is conducted as a large family, boys and girls mingling freely in games, and the spirit is thoroughly wholesome. Religious instruction is part of the school curriculum.

The Episcopalians, Congregationalists and Roman Catholics, all have missions on this field. The work of the last named dates from 1883, when they first launched their school work on the reservation. At the present time they have seven stations, with four priests and 1,964 adherents. Both the Episcopal and Congregational missions were established in 1885, the former locating at Wakpala and the latter at Yates. At the present time each of these denominations has five mission stations and churches.

Material Equipment: All but one of the ten Protestant churches have a building. Total valuation, \$14,800.

Pastors: The Congregational work is under a white superintendent who has been on the field for thirty-three years. The Episcopal work is supervised by two native pastors, one of whom has served his present parish for thirty-seven years. Four of the native pastors follow other occupations. Excluding the Congregational superintendent, the maximum salary paid is \$840 and the minimum \$96.

Finance: Receipts from ten churches, \$11,523, of which 50 per cent. comes from subscriptions and collections. Average subscription per church member, \$3.98. All churches receive home mission aid.

Membership: Total, 979, of whom 833 are classed as active members. Seven churches reported a gain of fifty-four in 1920.

Organizations Within the Churches: Congregationalists have two Sunday schools. Episcopalians follow the Niobrara course.²⁷ Each Congregational church has a Y. M. C. A. organization. The

²⁷ See under Rosebud, Footnote 16.

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Episcopal churches all have a St. Elizabeth's Guild or a Brotherhood of St. Andrew or a Brotherhood of Christian Unity. Total membership, 296. All but one church have women's organizations, with a total membership of 262.

Church Program: Sunday morning service in all ten churches and Sunday afternoon service in all but one, where an evening service is substituted. Average attendance: morning, 41; afternoon, 37. Mid-week services are held in three churches. All services are in the native tongue.

DEVILS LAKE RESERVATION

From time immemorial "Minnewakan," or "mystery water," as the Indians called Devils Lake, was a favorite resort of the great Sioux tribe. An agency was established here in 1867 and a little later 1,189 Indians, belonging to three bands known as the Sisseton, Wahpeton and Cuthead Sioux, had allotted to them 137,381 acres in Benson, Eddy, Ransom and Nelson counties. At the present time the Indian population is 961, all of whom are citizens, although only 10 per cent. are unrestricted. About half of the 1,200 or more allotments have been sold and approximately 1,000 white people are settled within the confines of the original reservation, especially in the rolling prairie land of the south. The Indian population shows a slight decrease since 1910 and the death rate is high on account of unsanitary living conditions and the prevalence of tuberculosis, which affects 20 per cent. of the Indians, while 15 per cent. suffer from trachoma. Hospital facilities are available at the Fort Totten School, but the Indians fail to take full advantage of them.

In the northern part of the reservation, where most of the Indians are settled, a certain amount of farming is carried on and small grains, including wheat, oats and flax, are successfully raised without recourse to irrigation. A few of the women do some bead work and fifty-two men are employed at times in the Government Indian Service. The chief source of income is, however, the leasing of farms, and since approximately half of the Indians so lease their farms it is evident that only a small part of their income is derived from their own agricultural pursuits. The Great Northern Rail-

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road enters the reservation from the southeast corner and there are two railroad towns, Tokio and Warwick.

Housing conditions among the Devils Lake Indians are about the same as among most of the Sioux tribes. There are some 150 one-room houses on this reservation, many of them being log cabins with few modern conveniences. In general the marriages conform to the State laws, although a tribal marriage generally precedes the obtaining of a license. Divorce is rare since most of the Indians are Roman Catholics, but separations are not uncommon. The Devils Lake Indians seldom marry outside their tribe and there is very little inter-marriage between Indians and whites. The recreational opportunities of these Indians are confined to four dance-halls, one pool-room and the band and orchestra at the Fort Totten school.

Except occasionally at funerals or in case of sudden illness, when belief in old practices is liable to crop out, very little remains of the old Indian superstitions. Indian dances are held, however, every week with effects similar to those noted elsewhere. The Devils Lake Indians have for long been in the habit of using alcohol and the suppression of the liquor traffic, especially in moonshine, presents many difficulties. There is some gambling among both men and women and also a certain amount of laxness in morals. The peyote cult is a recent introduction on this reservation and numbers fifty adherents. Although the meetings are kept secret the cult is organized.

At an early date these Indians came under the influence of French voyageurs and Roman Catholic missionaries, and a large majority is affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church at the present time. The Roman Catholics have two organized churches with resident priests, Our Lady of Sorrows being the main station, with 580 members. The senior priest, a devoted servant of his Church, has spent his life with these Indians and has converted most of them to the Catholic faith.

The Catholics also conduct, in connection with the Fort Totten Government boarding school, a Gray Nun's Depart-

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ment, having an enrollment of 110. The enrollment in the main school is 250. The first eight grades are carried, and the teaching staff, including industrial instructors and clerical force, numbered twenty-two in the school year 1920-21. The school is well managed and the general equipment is good. There are 414 acres under cultivation and sixteen buildings connected with the institution. Although it is a Government school, the Catholic influence predominates. The priest conducts religious services, and two evenings during the week are set aside for religious instruction. There are very few Protestant children in this school and little encouragement is offered to them to attend.

In addition to the Government school at Fort Totten, there are eight public schools on the reservation, three of which are open to Indian children. At the time of the survey there were thirty eligible children not attending any schools. For the present, at any rate, it would seem the natural thing for these children to attend the Government boarding school. The situation, however, so far as the Protestant children go, is complicated by the Roman Catholic predominance at the Government school.

The Protestant work on this reservation is confined to the Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The work of the former, however, is itinerant in character, and there are no organized churches or buildings at the present time.

The Presbyterians have two small churches. The main mission, which was established in 1881, has a building, a parsonage and forty acres of land farmed by the native pastor. The total membership of the two churches is 117, of which seventy-nine are classed as active members. Preaching services are held every Sunday morning and afternoon at which the native tongue is used entirely. Both churches have Sunday schools with an enrollment of twenty-five each. There are two Young Men's Christian Associations with a membership of thirty-eight, and two women's societies with a membership of forty-five. Both churches are in charge of native pastors whose average salary is \$620. Home mission aid to the extent of \$360 is received annually. The balance of the expenses has been made up by collections.

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The Presbyterian work on this reservation would be considerably strengthened by the appointment of a resident white missionary who would give full time to the field and to guiding and directing the work of the native pastors.²⁸ An adequate program would also include the provision of a trained nurse who could act as field matron, the location of a community house at some strategic center designed to offset the attractions of the village pool-rooms and other questionable resorts, and a systematic program to interest and enlist the services of returned students, of whom there are approximately 300 on the reservation.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN RESERVATION

Upon this reservation, which consists only of an area of 43,820 acres in Rolette County, on the Canadian border, and upon 399,817 acres of land on the public domain, are settled between 3,000 and 4,000 French and Chippewa mixed bloods commonly called Crees, or "Breeds." Apparently the presence of these people in North Dakota dates back to the time when the Red River voyageurs roamed this country and intermarried with the Chippewas. Other remnants of the once great Chippewa family are now found in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. According to the 1921 report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the population of the Turtle Mountain Chippewas is 3,622, of whom 3,464 are mixed bloods. Sixty per cent. are citizens, and all have individual allotments.

The communal life and domestic conditions of these Cree Indians reflect the characteristics of the average frontier community and differ but little from those among their white neighbors. Their social life finds expression in various activities that center at the near-by villages of Belcourt, Rolla and Dunseith. There is a dancing society with a membership of thirty, which meets twice a month and owns a hall in which

²⁸ At the Sioux Falls Conference the following action was taken: "Regarding the present situation on Devils Lake Reservation, North Dakota, we would call attention to the desirability of strengthening the Protestant work on the part of the Presbyterian (U. S. A.) Board of Home Missions, by the appointment of a resident white missionary in that field."

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other social gatherings are also held; there are four pool-rooms, and independent baseball and basket-ball teams furnish athletic diversion at seasonal times.

The majority of the Indians are comfortably housed, but 15 per cent. live in one-room frame or log houses. The percentage of tuberculosis is 20 and of trachoma 15. There is a Government hospital at the agency with a capacity of twenty patients.

The chief source of income is from the raising of horses, and cattle and poultry are also raised. A limited number of the Indians carry on general diversified farming, every encouragement being given them by the Agency farmer to cultivate their own land. Nevertheless, 900 lease their farms. Rations are given to 270 old and disabled Indians and, although there is no perennial poverty, in hard times approximately 50 per cent. are adversely affected by industrial depressions.

Educationally the Cree Indians are well looked after, there being six public schools on the reservation open to Indian children and one Government day school. The latter had an enrollment of twenty-eight in 1920.

In general, these mixed bloods, whose ancestors enjoyed an unsavory reputation on account of their predatory habits, appear to be simple, kind-hearted people concerning whose ultimate absorption into the general community there can be little doubt. Their principal vice appears to be an addiction on the part of the thirsty to a home brew concoction known as "Turtle Mountain Dew." The majority of them probably have more French than Indian blood in their veins. All of them are, nominally, at least, Roman Catholics, and they enjoy the ministries of two churches of that faith, one at Belcourt and the other eight miles away. There is a resident priest at each mission. The Episcopalians have a small mission in a settlement of those who took land on the public domain, but no marked success has been achieved in building up a strong church. Apart from this Episcopal mission there is no Protestant work among these people, and it may be doubted whether, in view of the numerous opportunities for Protestant

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effort and money elsewhere, it would be the part of wisdom to attempt any work in this field.

FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION

Situated in a semi-arid country, hilly and rolling, in the northern part of North Dakota, and covering parts of McLean, Mercer, Oliver and Dunn counties, the Fort Berthold reservation contains 535,708 acres, of which all but 100,000 acres are allotted. Here live three tribes, the Arrickara, Mandan and Gros Ventres, numbering respectively 415, 264 and 526. All of them are citizens, though 1,000 are still under Government supervision. There are three post offices on the reservation, and the nearest railroad station is Garrison, thirty miles distant.

The Arrickara, one of the tribes of the Pawnee Confederacy, originally located in the central Mississippi Valley, after a turbulent history in the course of which it suffered severe losses by warfare and disease, made its first treaty with the United States in 1825, but was not finally settled on the present reservation until 1880. Allotments were made in severalty in the years following 1887, and the members of the tribe received citizenship and became subject to the laws of the State in 1900. The Mandans have a similar history of warfare and disease since the first record of them in 1738, when a Frenchman visited the tribe in the upper Missouri country. The Gros Ventres (otherwise known as Minitaree and Hidatsa) became associated with the Mandans before 1765 and with them migrated up to the head-waters of the Missouri in 1845. The two tribes were settled on the present reservation in 1886.

Some soft coal, sand for building purposes and a certain amount of timber, good only for fuel, form the natural resources of the Fort Berthold reservation. The raising of cattle and horses and dry farming are sources of income for the Indians. Their main revenue is, however, derived from the leasing of 35,000 acres from which an income of \$52,500 is realized, whereas the land cultivated by the Indians them-

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selves only measures 12,878 acres. Native industries include some bead work, basket-making and porcupine quill work.

Marriage relations are almost uniformly regulated by State law, and the position of woman has shown a marked improvement during the last twenty-five years. Housing conditions and health are fairly good. Most of the Indians live in log houses of from two to four rooms. The services of a Government physician are available, but many of the Indians go to the neighboring towns, especially Bismarck, for medical attention. Although there are three tribes on this reservation, tribal lines are not closely drawn, but there is a certain demarcation as among the followers of the peyote cult, the Mormons and other denominations. Among the community activities are found six Indian dance-halls and a dance-hall for whites. The Congregational mission has a center for recreational purposes. Neither alcohol nor gambling presents serious problems. There is, however, a certain amount of prostitution on the reservation. The "give-away" Indian dances are prohibited by the authorities, but dances take place all the year round, usually on Saturday nights. The number of adherents of the peyote cult is estimated at between ten and twenty. The cult has been recently introduced and meetings are held irregularly. The old superstition is dying out but has still a strong hold upon the older people.

Educational facilities are afforded by one small Government day school with an enrollment of twenty-five, one Roman Catholic mission school with an enrollment of twenty-nine, and one Congregational school with an enrollment of twenty-three. There are also on the reservation three district schools, one of which is under Mormon auspices and has ten Indian pupils. In the other two district schools are thirty-five Indian pupils. The Congregational school, known as the Fort Berthold mission boarding school, at Elbowoods, was established in 1876 and moved to its present site in 1906. The first five grades are carried and pupils go on to Government non-reservation schools. Religious instruction is part of the curriculum and the Sunday program consists of services of worship and Sunday school.

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The religious oversight of this field is shared by Roman Catholics, Congregationalists and Episcopalians. The first named have four stations, one in connection with their boarding school. These points are served by two priests and the number of Catholic adherents is reported as 526.

The American board first started a mission among the Fort Berthold Indians in 1876, and the pastor under whose guidance this mission was launched is still superintendent of the field. The work was later turned over to the American Missionary Association and the first church was organized in 1885. The Episcopalians established a mission here in 1897, organizing a church in the same year. The Protestant work in this field may be summarized as follows:

Stations and Churches: Five stations with four organized churches.

Material Equipment: Four chapels, valued at \$5,700; other buildings used for church and community purposes valued at \$7,800; 145 acres of land valued at \$2,350.

Pastors: Four native pastors, and the white superintendent of the Congregational mission field.

Finances: All churches receive home mission aid. At one station, Red Butte, \$1,100 was collected for the church for the last fiscal year.

Membership: Total on church rolls 256.

Organizations Within Churches: There are no regular Sunday schools, but in two stations occasional Bible study takes their place and in one other church a combination church and Sunday school service is held. There is a St. Paul's Guild, a society for women, in connection with the Episcopal church, and a girls' society in connection with the Elbowoods Congregational church.

Church Program: At Elbowoods preaching services are held weekly. At two other churches there are afternoon and evening services, and monthly services are held at the other two stations. The native language is used in all but two churches, and in these two English is used occasionally.

According to the missionaries at work in this field the chief problems which they have to meet are to reach the Indians widely scattered on ranches and to counteract the influence of indifferent white people. The problem of the future will be to merge the Indian work with that of the white churches.

CHAPTER XII

THE SOUTHWEST

I: Indians of New Mexico

MESCALERO APACHES

The once powerful Apache tribe, of which there are now existent seven tribal groups, formerly roamed over the triangular space bounded by the Pueblos in New Mexico, the Colorado River on the west, and Gila on the southwestern border; but their hunting grounds and fighting expeditions also extended into the State of Chihuahua and even further south. Linguistically, the Apaches are related to the Athapascan stock. They are said to have originated about three hundred years ago from outcasts of other tribes, principally Navajos, Hopis and Yumas, but there is also almost certainly a mixture of Mexican blood. The Apaches gained an unsavory reputation on account of their frontier outrages some forty years ago and of the historic conflict of 1884-86 under their great war chief, Geronimo.

The Government first established an agency for this tribal group of the Apaches in 1873, at the little village of Mescalero, ninety miles northeast of El Paso, Texas, in the Sacramento Mountains, Otero County. The reservation, for which Mescalero village is the agency quarters, has an area of 474,340 acres, all unallotted, possesses a fine climate, and includes in its mountains an excellent sheep and cattle range. There are no railroads, nor any organized towns on the reservation, the nearest commercial centers being Tularosa, on the Rock Island railroad, eighteen miles distant, and Cloudcroft, fourteen miles to the southwest. The population numbers 613, of which 409 are of the Mescalero and 204 of the Chiricahua

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branch. The latter are of the Fort Sill Apaches, formerly held as prisoners of war in Oklahoma, remnants of Geronimo's band, and were settled on the Mescalero reservation in 1913. In all, there are 133 Indian households on the reservation and thirty white. None of the Indians are citizens.

The region was recently opened up for mining, but no reports as to developments in the way of minerals are available. There are 1,500,000 board feet of timber on the reservation, available for use under the auspices of the Indian Bureau, and part of the Alamo National Forest, which used to be included in the Mescalero reservation, is reserved to the Indians for a period of years. The land is fertile when cleared, but the season for growing crops is short and only small tracts are cultivated. Oats are the surest crop. Irrigation is practiced along the Tularosa creek where the Indians have certain water rights. The chief source of income is the cattle and sheep industry.¹ In 1920 there were 2,986 head of cattle and 6,900 sheep on the reservation. Twenty Indians are engaged in freighting, 125 in road-building, and 100 in wood-cutting at seasonal times. Native industries include basket-making and bead work, these employing some seventy persons. There is no real destitution, though 50 per cent. of the population are periodically affected by poverty.

Primitive conditions prevail among the Mescalero Indians, but a gradual improvement has been noted since the coming of the first Protestant missionaries in 1907. Tepees or other temporary dwellings are still the rule for both summer and winter, but a few permanent houses have been built by progressive Indians. The need for decent housing is urgent, especially among the Fort Sill Apaches, whose huts, erected by the Government, are so unsatisfactory in winter that most of the Indians prefer to use tepees. Trachoma is prevalent, 70 per cent. of the population being affected, while 25 per cent. are tubercular. A new Government sanatorium was recently opened, and a field matron is employed by the Indian Bureau.

¹ The Government Superintendent needs a fund of \$50,000 with which to provide the Apaches with better grade of stock.

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Up to 1907, when the Protestant missionaries came, no legal marriages were contracted, marital relationships being by Indian custom only. Since that time conditions in this respect have improved. Many religious ceremonies are now performed, separations and domestic quarrels are fewer, and the position of women has improved. A certain amount of intermarriage takes place with Mexicans, many of whom are employed by the Indians as sheep herders, but in general the Indians consider themselves superior to the Mexicans, though they speak Spanish more readily than English. No intermarriage is recorded between Indians and whites.

In general, the Church and the school are the institutions most influential in directing public opinion, except in cases of extraordinary trouble, when old Indian influences generally prevail. The Indian dances are held in the open and there are, therefore, no dance-halls. The Roman Catholic Church has a club building, while the Reformed Church has a building known as the Mescalero Indian Lodge.

A "home brew" called "Tiswin," similar to the "Tulapai" of certain western tribes, has been made for years by the Mescalero Indians, and though its consumption has recently grown less it is still indulged in. Gambling is the prevailing vice of men and women. Moral conditions are improving. There are a few illegitimate children, usually the offspring of Indian women and white men, but no commercial prostitutes.

Superstition and the old Indian religion still have a strong hold in the Mescalero reservation and are favored by public opinion; but their power is gradually yielding to Christian influences. The medicine man is declining in popularity and Christian funerals in place of the native ceremonies are now almost the rule. The desire for the old dances, however, remains strong. The big event of the season comes off about the Fourth of July, and occasionally an Indian of wealth and position will give a feast and dance in honor of a marriageable daughter.

Despite the high percentage of illiteracy on this reservation (75 per cent.), there is reported a marked interest in

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education. At the time this survey was made only forty-three children were out of school,² and some were away in non-reservation schools, principally at Santa Fé and Albuquerque. There are twelve returned students on the reservation.

Of the two schools on the reservation, one is a public school for white children, the other a Government boarding school for Indians. The latter was started as a day school in 1896, but was rebuilt as a boarding school ten years later. The buildings and equipment are inadequate for the pupils attending, who, in the year 1919-1920, numbered 113, sixty-one boys and fifty-two girls. Only the first five grades are carried. The school is understaffed; in the primary grades, for instance, there is one teacher for seventy small children, all of whom are in one room thirty by thirty-four feet. The dormitories are also overcrowded. The children attend the churches of their religious affiliation, and the missionaries give one hour's religious instruction per week at the churches. The religious affiliation of the pupils is reported as sixty-one Protestant and fifty-two Roman Catholic.

Missionary work on the Mescalero reservation was established in 1907 by the Women's Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church in America. In 1911 the Roman Catholics entered the field. The methods of the Reformed Church mission have been aggressive. There is a well-equipped station at Mescalero village, with a church, parsonage and lodge building, and an out-station at White Tail canyon for the Fort Sill Indians. The church at the Agency was organized in 1910, that at White Tail in 1917. The combined valuation of the two churches and parsonages is \$9,000, while the Lodge is valued at \$3,500. All are commodious frame structures. The budget system is used in the Agency church. Since both points are essentially mission stations, they naturally depend almost entirely upon home mission aid. There is only one pastor, and the charge of two churches and the wide distribution of his parish, necessitating journeys to distant camps, keep him busy.

² At the Survey Conference held at Albuquerque, N. M., March, 1922, it was reported that all are now in school.



PUEBLO TESUQUE GIRL

With specimens of the native pottery which is still made in some of the pueblos.

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The total number on the church rolls is 136, of which 120 are classed as active members. Services are held at the Agency church every Sunday morning and evening, and at the out-station semi-monthly. Morning services are usually interpreted; evening services are conducted in English. Twice a year special evangelistic meetings are held. There is a Sunday school at the Agency, with an enrollment of 136 and an average attendance of 100. Weekly socials are held at the Lodge, which is in charge of a matron and is open daily. Part of the equipment of the Lodge is a general reading and rest room, a room for the accommodation of temporary Indian guests, and a bathroom.

The Catholic mission is in charge of a priest of the Franciscan order. A new stone church has recently been built at a cost of approximately \$8,000, and services are held in tepees at four out-stations. There is also a clubhouse valued at \$1,800. The number of church members is reported as 110, and of adherents as 350. Thursday evening catechetical instruction is given to fifty-five children. The usual program of the Roman Catholic Church is followed, and the priest has the religious supervision of Catholic pupils in the near-by Government school.

Both the Protestant and Catholic missionaries express themselves as hopeful of the future development of the field.

The results of the survey give ground for encouragement. There is no doubt that general conditions, as compared with these prevailing fifteen or twenty years ago, have much improved. The natural resources of the Mescalero reservation are extensive, and when these can be developed better industrial and social conditions will follow. Educational facilities, as has been noted, need increasing. Practically all of the Indians have come under Christian influences during the past twelve years, and these are bearing fruit. An impetus to church life was given by the coming of the Fort Sill band, which had been under Christian tutelage in Oklahoma. Unfortunately there is some confusion as to the future status of these Indians, which reacts on the possible development of church activities. The Government has found difficulty in ful-

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filling its obligations to them.^{2a} Inadequately housed, they have been exposed to disease and have become discouraged. An immediate settlement of their status is needed.

The village of Mescalero is destined to continue as the community center for the reservation. To the missions, therefore, is offered a splendid opportunity to introduce new elements into the community program already launched which will tend to hold and steady the younger people.

JICARILLA APACHES

A tribal division of the Apaches, the Jicarillas, first had dealings with the Government in 1874, when, in common with other Apache bands, their land areas were restricted. Further negotiations and an allotment of land followed in 1880 and 1887; but these attempts at locating the uncivilized Jicarillas proved abortive, and it was not until 1907 that a new schedule was worked out whereby 353,812 acres were allotted to 897 Indians. The present reservation consists of 761,112 acres, of which 407,300 remain unallotted, situated in a mountainous region in Rio Arriba County, one of the most northerly in the State of New Mexico. The land is generally high, semi-arid, timbered in portions and makes a good grazing range, especially for sheep. The season is short, the winters cold, and the land generally is unfit for agriculture. The population is 925. The nearest postoffice is Dulce, on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. There are 130 miles of unimproved dirt roads on the reservation.

The mineral resources of the reservation are undeveloped, although it is known that coal exists in marketable quantities. There are 200,000,000 board feet of standing timber, of which 140,000,000 feet are available for use under Government jurisdiction. The total stumpage value is \$665,000. There is one private sawmill, and one under Government auspices.

^{2a} The difficulty arose as a result of the War Department needing the land on which these Indians were settled at Fort Sill, where, though occupying the status of prisoners since the arrest of Geronimo, they had settled down to a peaceful and industrious existence.

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The character of the soil, which is adobe, and climatic conditions combine to make agriculture unprofitable. Only a small area is irrigated, but there is a little dry farming, wheat and oats being the principal crops. The Government at one time experimented unsuccessfully with a tribal cattle herd. About 300 persons are engaged in the sheep industry, and there are some 25,000 head of sheep. Basketry and blanket-weaving are the principal native industries, employing a few women. Conditions among the Indians have somewhat improved during the past three or four years. Government and Church have got together to institute a vocational program and to fight poverty and disease; but before these steps were taken the Jicarillas were known as the poorest and most depressed people of the Southwest. Rations are distributed at times to about 130 of the sick and helpless.

The depression of these unfortunate people is not surprising. The outstanding fact in their lives is disease, since 70 per cent. of them are afflicted with tuberculosis. This scourge has contributed to their poverty, has caused their numbers to dwindle, and has prevented them from enjoying the advantages of the educational facilities that the Government offered.

Housing conditions are bad. Some of the Indians live in log cabins and others in tepees, even during the long, cold winters, and this situation, together with lack of nourishing food, has been largely responsible for present health conditions. Difficulty has been experienced in getting patients to accept medical care, but an entering wedge has been made by the establishment of a sanatorium school which will be of immense service to children of tubercular tendencies.

A primitive people, the Jicarillas have but a hazy conception of family life as we know it. The women of the tribe are backward, remaining for the most part in distant camps remote from civilizing influences. A good deal of improvement in the observance of marriage laws has, however, been noted recently, and the leading people desire law enforcement and coöperate with Government officials.

The liquor traffic, which ten years ago was a recognized evil on this reservation, has now practically ceased to be a

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problem, while a marked decrease is observable in crime in general. Gambling remains an outstanding vice, affecting at least 25 per cent. of the men and perhaps an equal number of women, but the Government officials are now active in its suppression. Prostitution is almost negligible. The Indian dances, when held, breed immorality and idleness and result in marital separations as well as in serious detriment to health. Church and Government forces are united in combating this evil.

Naturally, among people as primitive as the Jicarillas, superstition holds a prominent place, and the old "witch doctors" are still a degrading influence. It is noteworthy, however, as promising well for the future, that when a "medicine man" dies none comes forward to take his place.

The handicap under which education has labored on account of the prevailing ill health of the people has already been noted. With the Government school closed for educational purposes and turned into a sanatorium, it is hardly surprising that the percentage of illiteracy is as high as 80, and that 300 of the people can neither read nor write the English language. Before the school was discontinued in 1920 the attendance was eighty-nine, and the preceding five years had shown a distinct decrease in the percentage of illiteracy. The Reformed Church Mission has taken over the responsibility for educating the healthy children of the reservation, and a mission school, with an enrollment of thirty, was opened on November 1, 1920. Before being admitted the children have to pass a physical examination.

The first mission station for the Jicarillas was established at Dulce, in 1889, by the Methodists, but the work was later abandoned. In 1914 the Reformed Church in America took over missionary work that had been started and carried on for some two years and a half by private enterprise; an attractive frame adobe church and parsonage were erected at a cost of \$8,500, and a permanent missionary and a trained nurse as a helper and worker among the women were engaged. No church has yet been organized, but seventy-four Indians have made professions of faith. Services, with an average attendance of fifty-six and forty-eight respectively, are held



THE COMANCHE DANCE OF THE PUEBLO INDIANS



THE HOPI SNAKE DANCE



A NAVAJO CHURCH IN THE DESERT

The Presbyterian Mission Church at Ganado, Arizona



THE VILLAGE WELL

San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico



AN OLD MISSION

Roman Catholic Church at Sia Pueblo, New Mexico



BUILDING THE CHURCH AT CASA BLANCA, N. M.
The Laguna Women helped their Men in the Building



LIPAN INDIAN, NEW MEXICO
Said to be 115 years old

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every Sunday morning and evening, the morning service being interpreted and the evening service held in English. The Sunday school enrollment is seventy-five and the average attendance fifty-six. There are five classes and school is held every month throughout the year. Much time is also given to visitation in the homes and distant sheep camps of the Indians.

Obviously the prime need on this reservation is the development of the program already launched through the coöperation of Government and Church agencies for improving conditions of health among the Indians. The present industrial policy should also be continued and intensified, as, for instance, the individualization of the Indians' sheep. In its mission school the Reformed Church has undertaken a large responsibility, and it is evident that a corresponding opportunity is offered for the development of Christian native leadership and the stimulation of self-help and independence. In the matter of developing community consciousness a good beginning has been made, and the program contemplated, which calls for the building of a community house, with equipment suitable for social and recreational purposes, should be pressed to completion. The missionary in charge rightly considers this field one that is rich in promise. Patient instruction and the type of work adapted to a primitive heathen people are required. There is only one church in the field, and the situation is thus free of complications that at times occur elsewhere. There is an unhindered field for growth and development.

PUEBLO INDIANS

Of Tanoan stock, the Pueblo Indians were first brought into contact with the white man in 1540 during the explorations of Coronado. In 1598 they were conquered by the Spaniards, carrying the sword in one hand and the Cross in the other, and using both impartially to Christianize the Indians. Nearly a century later, in 1680, the Indians revolted and overthrew the Spanish authority, massacring a considerable number of the priests, but in 1692 they were again conquered by De Vargas, and thereafter they remained under Spanish or Mexican authority until 1846. By the treaty of Guadalupe-

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Hidalgo, in 1848, they became subjects of the United States together with the other inhabitants of New Mexico. They were incorporated later under territorial law, and in 1863 patents were given to them by the United States confirming the grants made by Spain and recognized by Mexico. Originally each grant embraced about 17,000 acres.³

At the present time these Indians inhabit eighteen pueblos, or villages, from which they take their name, in the vicinity of Santa Fé and Albuquerque. Their total population, which has remained stationary for the last ten years, is 8,240, and the total area of their lands, 951,248 acres. For administrative purposes they are divided into two groups, northern and southern. The location, area and population of the eighteen villages are as follows:

COMMUNITY	ACRES	POPULATION
San Juan	17,545	439
Tesuque	17,471	106
Pojoaque	13,520	8
Picuris	17,461	104
Nambe	20,026	113
San Ildefonso	17,293	104
Taos	17,471	595
Santa Clara	49,369	332
Santa Domingo	92,398	959
San Felipe	34,767	515
Jemez	42,359	561
Sandia	24,187	92
Cochiti	24,256	251
Sia	17,515	146
Isleta	176,000	988
Laguna	251,511	1,808
Acoma	95,792	900
Santa Ana	22,307	219
Total	951,248	8,240

³ Besides the original Spanish grants there were tracts purchased by the Indians and later confirmed by the Government. The Pagate purchase of the Laguna Indians was such a tract. In the case of the Santa Clara Pueblos a reservation was set aside by Executive Order to compensate them for lands claimed by them but diminished in area by the Court of Private Land Claims. See also under Zunis.

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In general, the Pueblos to-day cling tenaciously to their old way of life and stubbornly resist Governmental measures which conflict with traditional customs. While their exact status in regard to citizenship is a mooted question, the fact remains that they are not allowed to vote in New Mexico.

The natural resources of the Pueblo territory are meager. There are no minerals and no timber. The land is largely barren, yielding nothing except under irrigation. Nevertheless, just as the people were farming and employing irrigation when Coronado discovered them, so to-day they depend mostly upon agriculture for their living, using farming methods not very different from those of Coronado's time, and threshing their grain by having it trampled under horses' feet. The most prosperous farmers are at Taos, where 3,000 acres of land are under cultivation, and at Isleta. The stock business is best developed at Acoma and Laguna. The total stock possessed by the Indians is: Cattle, 6,287; horses (mostly ponies), 4,674; sheep, 43,754; goats, 1,780. At six pueblos the Indians are hired for ranch work by whites and Mexicans at seasonal times. Forty-one Indians are employed in the Government Indian service. There are one or two silver-smiths, a little bead work is done, and in six pueblos there is still some pottery-making. There is no real poverty, and rations are given out at only two pueblos.

The economic situation among the Pueblos has been enormously complicated by the squatters, mostly Mexicans, who have overrun their lands and whose trespassing dates back for a hundred years.^{3a}

^{3a} It is estimated that there are a thousand or more non-Indian claimants to Pueblo lands. Generally speaking, the claims may be classified as follows: (1) Those that originated prior to 1848 under Spanish and Mexican rule; (2) those that originated subsequently to 1848; (3) those based on the gradual absorption of Indian lands by aggressive trespassers. These squatters may be said to be "living under a cloud" in that they are claimants to land on which there are unsettled Indian titles. In order to appreciate this state of affairs it should be borne in mind that each Pueblo is a corporation and belongs to the community, so that no individual can legally sell any of the land. A practice grew up whereby an Indian would rent a small tract of land to an outsider for a nominal sum, and when settled thereon the tenant would move his boundary fences and greatly increase the original dimensions. The lease

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As has been noted, little advancement in civilization has been made by the Pueblos in the past three hundred years. Their Mexican environment is partly responsible for this lack of progress; but a contributing cause must be considered the influence of the women, who are more conservative than the men and who largely dominate the affairs of the Pueblos. In the matter of marriage, however, owing to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, the State laws are generally observed, and as a rule licenses are obtained even though Indian custom marriages precede. There have been no notable changes in this respect during the last twenty years.

Housing conditions leave a good deal to be desired. Adobe houses are the rule, sometimes of two or three stories and generally of two or more rooms; but these are usually badly ventilated and lighted. Over-crowding is often found in the villages and no sanitary precautions are taken. Hence

might be renewed and the Indian asked to sign some paper, which subsequently would be put forward as a deed of sale; or the tenant, in other cases, refused to pay any more rent and endeavored to hold the land by right of adverse possession. Some individual Indians, seeing an opportunity to acquire easy money, have "sold" land to these squatters. Since then title to certain tracts has changed many times, and some purchases were doubtless made in good faith.

Conditions were bad enough in 1847, under Mexican rule, but following that date the situation became worse. The Joy Survey (1914-1916), made for the purpose of aiding the Government in defeating fraudulent claims, revealed that thousands of acres, especially in the northern jurisdiction, were in the hands of non-Indian claimants or their assigns.

A bill, introduced by Senator Bursum, of New Mexico, "to ascertain and settle land claims of persons not Indian within Pueblo Indian land, land grants and reservations," was rushed through the Senate on September 11, 1922, by the "unanimous consent" courtesy. Its provisions appeared more favorable to the non-Indians than to the Pueblos, although the settlers would in all probability have been involved in expensive and well-nigh endless litigation. Opponents of the measure felt that a fair and equitable settlement of land claims was impossible under the provisions of the Bursum Bill. Public sentiment was aroused, and Senator Borah, of Idaho, had the bill recalled from the House for reconsideration by the Senate. It was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, which has held hearings on the subject. The bill is still before the Committee as this volume goes to press. It is evident that some provision for a judicial adjustment of the chaotic situation among the Pueblos is imperative. A bill, prepared by the attorney for the General Federation of Women's Clubs, as a substitute for the Bursum measure, was introduced in the Senate on December 22, 1922. This substitute is designed to insure justice to both Indians and non-Indians, and has the endorsement of the Indian Rights Association and other welfare agencies.

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living conditions tend to foster neither health nor morality. The dry climate, however, is a powerful aid in the fight against tuberculosis, sufferers from which are reported as less than 2 per cent. in ten pueblos and only 5 per cent. in six others. About the same percentages of trachoma are reported. A Government hospital is situated at Laguna, in the work of which the Indians to some extent coöperate. The situation in regard to alcohol is reported to be well in hand, and gambling, though practiced by both men and women, is not the grave menace that it is elsewhere.

For years the Pueblos have had their own form of government. They elect governors or *principales* annually, and assert the right to handle their own affairs, being jealous of their authority and resenting any interference by the Indian Office. Nominally, the people rule, but the real power is lodged in an invisible government, or "boss" system, that controls the nominations. The respective "governments" in most cases are rather farcical and are dominated by the old-time pagan element that has usually aimed at the suppression of all progress along modern lines. A careful student of the situation declares that the tribal government has been "a menace to advancement, holding the progressive and educated Indians chained to an old system worse than feudalism; and the injustice of the allotment and other systems are very apparent." The same observer characterizes the Indian governments as "unworthy of intelligent consideration, presenting many dangers that give suspicion of persecution and the bitter factional domination that may always be expected from a savage." He continues: "The young women and growing children are helpless under such a system, and if they are not defended and protected, they must accept this barbaric régime and remain practically enslaved."

The religion, government and dances of these Indians are closely interrelated. Some of the dances are public, others secret. When the latter are held, the villages are closely guarded and no outsider is allowed on the premises. All the dances are religious in character. Those which are open are apparently harmless; but the secret dances, according to statements

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by well-informed people, are characterized by unbridled license. There is a report on file in the Indian Office concerning obscenities connected with the "religious" rites of the more backward Pueblos, and their barbaric cruelties when inflicting punishment, that is almost beyond belief. Thus far, however, nothing has been done to eradicate these practices, probably on the ground that they belong to the Indian "religion." The returned students, in particular, have a right to protection since failure to take part in the tribal dances results in persecution or virtual ostracism.

In view of the policy of evasion of responsibility and compromise in dealing with these people, whether by Church or Government, it is not strange that the material and spiritual conditions already indicated have developed. It should be noted that the situation has been described in general terms, and that there are individual exceptions to be found at some points, notably Laguna and Isleta.

The Government maintains eighteen day schools in the pueblos. Of these, six are under the Laguna jurisdiction, which includes three or four villages, and two under that of Acóma. A number of children also attend the non-reservation schools at Santa Fé and Albuquerque, while 355 are without school facilities. The principal need seems to be for the establishment of additional day schools for the pupils at present not attending any school, while the number of grades should be increased so as to include the first six, instead of only the first three, as at present. The percentage of illiteracy in the pueblos averages about 60.

The day schools have all been established of recent years, except one or two that were originally Roman Catholic mission schools, but have been turned over to the Government. The teachers number thirty—twenty-six men and four women. The total enrollment of the eighteen schools is 956, an average of fifty-three per school. Ninety of the children are Protestant, the rest being nominally Roman Catholic. Eleven of the teachers are listed as Protestants. Very little is done for the schools in the way of religion. The Catholic priests visit them only occasionally, and the Roman Catholic Church

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has no Sunday schools as Protestants understand them. The day schools at Laguna have some religious oversight from the Protestant missionaries, and a number of the pupils attend the Sunday school held at Old Laguna and Casa Blanca. There is no regular week-day religious instruction for any of the pupils.⁴

The Pueblo Indians, as has been seen, have been under the influence of Roman Catholic missions since the seventeenth century. At the present time the Roman Catholic Church has work at seventeen of the eighteen pueblos, and the value of the church buildings, sixteen of which are adobe, is given as \$170,100. In a number of cases the work includes the Mexicans also. The number of Indians on the church rolls is given as 5,616, but it is stated that the entire population of all the pueblos are baptized adherents. In most of the pueblos services are held once a month, in the Spanish language. Seven of the priests have been in their parishes more than ten years. They report the future of their fields as "satisfactory," though some admit that the Indians are good Christians while in church but become pagans after they leave the building.

The Presbyterians have had missions at Laguna and Jemez since 1851, and possibly on account of the stimulating effect of competition, the Roman Catholic work at these two points is above the average. At Laguna the Presbyterian missionary serves five points. A neat adobe church has been built recently at Casa Blanca by the Indians themselves, valued at \$3,000, with a seating capacity of 250 and a membership of 130. This church was organized in 1897 and is the only organized Protestant church among the Pueblos. Services are held every Sunday, the Governor of Laguna acting as interpreter. There is a Sunday school in connection with the church, with an enrollment of 108 and an average attendance of sixty. There is also a Junior Christian Endeavor Society with sixteen members. At Jemez is an adobe chapel, seating fifty, at which services are held twice a month.⁵

⁴ The Roman Catholics report two boarding schools, one at Bernalillo, enrollment 103; the other at Santa Fé, enrollment 32.

⁵ The church at Pagate has twenty-four members.

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The field at Laguna is particularly hopeful. The work got a good start owing to the coöperation with the faithful missionaries of Christian ranchmen who intermarried with Indians in early days. At present the work is in a quiescent state, and every phase of missionary effort needs emphasis for the next five years. Special efforts should be made to reach the young people returning from Government schools and to hold them for definite Christian service on a volunteer basis.

ZUNI INDIANS

The Indians of five pueblos, with a population of 1,860, distributed among some 450 households, are included under this generic title. The history of these people parallels pretty closely that of the Pueblos (q. v.). Following their discovery by Coronado in 1540 and subsequent Spanish aggression, they took refuge on Taaiyalone (Corn Mountain), which to this day continues to serve as the ceremonial center for the entire tribe. After three centuries of Spanish and Mexican rule the Zunis, with other tribes of New Mexico, were transferred to the jurisdiction of the United States by the treaty of 1848, and became subject to the Executive order in 1877. A survey of the original Spanish grant of 17,581 acres was followed by the formal establishment of the Zuni reservation, and in 1917, 73,000 acres were added to this reservation by Executive order.

Zuni, the main village and the winter home of the tribe, is a picturesque pueblo, built in a series of terraces along the banks of the Zuni River, and situated forty-two miles southwest of Gallup, the nearest railroad town, and four miles from the village of Blackrock, which is the Agency seat, with the reservation school, a dam, and a storage reservoir. The other pueblos are Ojo, Cailente, Pescado (which is in two villages) and Nutrias. The reservation is at an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet; the winters are severe; the roads often impassable, and hence the reservation is to a considerable degree isolated. There is a mail service three times weekly. The nearest white settlement, which is Mormon, is Ramah,

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twenty-five miles distant. Fifty white people, traders and their families, Government officials and missionaries, live on the reservation. The Indian population has shown a slight increase in the past ten years.

The Zunis are a self-supporting and self-contained people, depending mainly upon agriculture and stock-raising for their livelihood. There is an absence of poverty; no rations or gratuitous funds have ever been distributed, and no land is leased to outsiders. All property is held by right of selection, occupancy and use, there being no individual ownership of land. Usually every able-bodied man and woman is to be found at work. The natural resources of the reservation include a little coal and building stone and timber, which is mostly scrub cedar available for fuel.

The Government dam at Blackrock has made it possible to irrigate 6,000 acres of land,⁶ while behind the storage reservoir covering 620 acres are 600 square miles of watershed. On this land corn, oats and wheat crops are grown, while vegetables and alfalfa are also raised. The animal wealth of the Indians consists of 600 head of cattle, 1,200 horses and burros, 41,000 sheep; 200 swine, 6,000 goats, and between 400 and 500 head of poultry. In addition to the economic benefits conferred, the irrigation works have had a notable effect in making it evident to the Indians that land can be cultivated without dependence upon rain gods and prayer dances. Minor industries include freighting, wood-cutting, and occasional seasonal labor for the Government or for white ranchers, while a considerable amount of native pottery is made and there is also some bead work.

More than most of the Indian tribes, the Zunis are under the dominance of the old religion and superstition and of the old hierarchical government. Their world is continually shadowed by mysteries which pervade their economic, social and moral life. With the planting of grain there still goes the planting of "prayer plumes," a custom which the practice of irrigation has not yet served to drive into obsolescence. In

⁶ 5,000 acres more are available but not yet irrigated.

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the native government four religious groups predominate, the principal one being that of the "rain priests," who constitute the greatest single impediment to progress. On the other hand, it should be noted that in recent years the real authority has been vested in the Government superintendent, who frequently settles family disputes and quarrels among the clans. There are fifteen such clans in the tribe and a number of fraternities, and these and the religious orders direct public opinion along conservative lines. Chief among the old Indian influences are naturally the dances, which are held frequently in connection with religious ceremonies, the most famous being the so-called "rain dances." As among the Pueblos, the Zuni dances are of two kinds, those held in public and those which are secret, the latter being characterized by orgies similar to those noted as prevalent among the Pueblos. One festival, "Shalako," generally held in the late fall, is becoming commercialized, and large numbers of white spectators witness the spectacle. Strong as the hold of these dances and of the old superstitions still is, religious education and modern medicine are tending gradually to decrease the power of the priests and the medicine men, while there is in the population a progressive element which favors improved sanitation and modern methods of agriculture.

As to morality in general, it may be said that the Zunis are moral according to their own standards, though they have no appreciation of Christian standards in their home life. The greater number of marriages (95 per cent.) are still tribal, and this holds true of divorces. Large families are not the rule. Woman, though very much of a burden-bearer, occupies a prominent place and has a controlling voice in tribal affairs. Family life, like tribal government, is dominated by the old religion. Alcohol presents no problem. There is a certain amount of gambling, but this is discouraged by the Government authorities.

The typical Zuni house is of the usual pueblo variety, built of adobe, and containing from four to six rooms. In many houses, one sees modern articles of furniture, such as sewing machines and beds, while some have Navajo rugs on the

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floor and even kitchen ranges. Too early marriage has had the effect of stunting the growth, especially of the women, who are of small stature. The general health is fair, the percentage of tuberculosis being small. A Government hospital and physician are available at the Blackrock school, and there is a field matron. Despite the influence of the medicine men the Indians are more inclined to coöperate with Government agencies than was the case fifteen or twenty years ago.

The schools are three in number. Together they provide facilities for all but seventy of the Indian children.⁷ The percentage of illiteracy on the reservation is 66.

(1) *The Government Reservation Boarding School* at Blackrock was opened about 1905 and carries the first six grades. The staff of teachers and employees numbers thirteen, and the enrollment is 120, sixty-five boys and fifty-five girls. All give the Christian Reformed Church as their preferred religious affiliation. The Sunday program consists of a service of worship and a Sunday school divided into ten classes. In addition a regular course for the catechetical instruction of pupils is given on Mondays and Tuesdays under the Reformed Church missionary. There are fourteen buildings connected with the school and a hundred-acre farm.

(2) *The Government Day School* carries the first four grades. There are two instructors, and an enrollment of 167, seventy-seven boys and ninety girls. The children all give the Christian Reformed Church as their religious affiliation, and are under direct instruction of the Reformed Church missionaries. Two hours on week days are available for catechetical classes, and the coöperation of the Government teachers is cordial. The attitude of the parents toward sending children to this school, as well as to the boarding school at Blackrock, has much improved during the past ten years, and the Indian police are diligent in assisting to check irregularity of attendance, which still exists. The school needs to be enlarged so as to accommodate the seventy children who are still without educational facilities.

(3) *The Christian Reformed Mission Day School* was opened in 1906, and carries grades one to eight. There is an enrollment of thirty-three, about sixteen in the primary and the remainder in the pre-vocational grades. The Sunday school in connection with this institution, already noted, is in addition to regular religious instruction. There are three buildings in connection with

⁷ Approximately 150 children of school age are out of school.

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the school, all in good condition. No tuition is charged. The pupils receive an outfit of clothing every year and a weekly bath and change of underclothing, as well as medical attention. The course of study is closely related to that in the Government and State schools. The school has served as a connecting link between the missionaries and the parents of pupils. It should continue to have a distinct place to fill for a few years, but in course of time its place should be taken by additional facilities in the Government schools.

A Roman Catholic mission was established among the Zunis by Spanish priests as early as 1629, but owing to massacres and revolts, which occurred between 1632 and 1700, little progress was made and the mission soon fell into ruins. The remains of the old church may still be seen in the pueblo beside the community burying ground. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Roman Catholic work among the Zunis was very intermittent, and only recently (1921) was an attempt made to revive it with the appointment of a resident missionary. Up to that time only occasional visits had been made by priests from Gallup.

Protestant work was first started in the field in the middle of the last century by the Presbyterians, who established a day school in the village with a lone woman missionary in charge. This mission was, however, abandoned owing to lack of support, and the school was turned over to the Government. In 1897 the Christian Reformed Church entered the field, subsequently establishing a mission and day school and arranging for a regular program of instruction for pupils enrolled at the Government boarding school at Blackrock and in the day school in the village.

The mission station consists of an adobe chapel (which also serves as a mission day school), a modern parsonage, and a Y. M. C. A. building, the last having a membership of seventeen, composed of returned students from the Government non-reservation schools. All the buildings are in good repair. There is no organized church,⁸ and consequently no prospect

⁸ Four Zunis are members of the Christian Reformed Church at Rehoboth.

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of self-support, expenses being defrayed by the church board. The Sunday services in the little chapel are attended mostly by the white people of the reservation, but a Sunday school, with an enrollment of forty, is held in the chapel for the mission day school children. Much of the work of the mission consists of house-to-house visitation, in addition to religious education in the Government schools and the charge of the mission school. The personnel consists of one ordained missionary and three helpers, an assistant missionary in charge of the Y. M. C. A. and young people's work in the Government schools, a matron, who sustains relationship to the children in the day school and also makes friendly visits, and a teacher who instructs the thirty-five children enrolled in the mission school.

II: *Indians of Arizona*

NAVAJOS

The Navajos to-day wander over sections of three states, embracing an area of 20,000 to 25,000 square miles, larger than Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire combined. The Navajo is thus by far the largest reservation in the United States. In Arizona it includes parts of Coconino, Navajo and Apache counties; in New Mexico, parts of McKinley and San Juan counties; and in Utah, the southern portion of San Juan County. For administrative purposes it is divided into six districts, with agencies located at Fort Defiance, Leupp, Keams Canyon (which is also the location of the Hopi agency), and Tuba City, in Arizona, and Shiprock and Crown Point, in New Mexico. This vast area is uncrossed by any railroad, and although one mail route extends to a point 165 miles distant from the railroad, there are few roads, and most of the country is accessible only by trails. From the dry, sandy desert on the east to the mountain peaks on the west, there is no living stream, except the San Juan River in the northern part. Much of the country is mountainous, nearly one-half of it lying between 6,000

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and 9,000 feet above sea level. Mesas, buttes, canyons and arroyas follow one another in rapid succession. Rainbow plateau and painted desert, with here and there the historical ruins of ancient cliff dwellings, lend variety to the landscape.

Of the Indians inhabiting this vast region no complete census has ever been made on account of their nomadic life and the shifting character of the population. In 1868 an incomplete census gave 8,000 as the population. The latest approximate figures are 32,331. Thus it is certain, at least, that there has been a marked increase in population during the past fifty years, despite the fact that influenza epidemics and typhus have cut down many thousands.

The first mention of the name Navajo in history occurs in 1629, by Zarate-Salmeron, although Coronado had traversed the country of the Navajos in his expedition of 1540. They are known for the almost continuous warfare they carried on with the Pueblos and white settlers until New Mexico was acquired by the United States in 1848. Even then, though the sovereignty of the United States was acknowledged by the Treaty of Canyon de Chelly in that year, the real submission of the Navajos was not brought about until Kit Carson's expedition in 1863, when they were subdued by a process of starvation and taken as prisoners to Fort Sumner. They were allowed to return to their lands by the treaty of 1868, and a new supply of sheep was given to them. The Navajo language, as well as the physical characteristics of the people, show that from time to time other tribes have mingled with them. The original eleven clans have increased considerably, and their names at times show their origin. The Navajos' name for themselves is "dine," or "people."

The natural resources of the reservation are very limited, and none are developed except soft coal, which is used to a small extent by the Indians. Of timber, considering the vast size of the area, there is relatively little. The eastern desert, of course, has no trees, and the cedar and piñon of the lower hills are good only for firewood. Lack of water, the nature of the soil and the aridity of the climate combine to make thousands of acres unfit for cultivation. Add to this the fact

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that methods of irrigation are of the most primitive and that the Navajos have never been a strictly agricultural people, and one can understand why of the more than fifteen million acres of the reservation only 31,017 are under cultivation.

The great industry is the raising of sheep and goats, much wool being used for the blanket-weaving for which the tribe is famous. In the latter occupation 5,500 women are reported to be engaged, and the value of the output of Navajo blankets in a year is estimated at more than \$750,000. The sheep and cattle on the reservation are reputed to be worth \$7,000,000, and the total value of the tribal property (including timber and unknown quantities of coal) is estimated at \$35,000,000. A few hundred silversmiths and some basket- and pottery-makers add to the list of Navajo industries.^{8a}

Known as the most thrifty and industrious of all tribes, the Navajos have sometimes been called the "Jews among the Indians." At any rate, there is no actual poverty among them, though meager conditions of living are often found, and they are entirely self-supporting in a region in which a white man would find it hard to eke out a bare existence.

A serious situation obtains among those on the Public Domain. When the reservation was established large numbers preferred to live with their herds on public lands (or railroad lands) in what is now western New Mexico. To these numbers are added from time to time others coming from the reservation proper to get more ample grazing grounds. The Navajos view this country as their ancient home. To-day their rights are in jeopardy. With the building of the railroads every odd-numbered section was given gratis to these corporations, while stockmen took up homestead entry on other desirable tracts embracing springs and waterholes. The Indian, thus deprived of his ancestral domain, became a trespasser and is so considered by the white ranchmen.⁹

^{8a} Oil was discovered near Farmington, N. M., early in 1923. What this may mean for the Navajo only the future can tell.

⁹ The Survey Conference held at Albuquerque, N. M., in March, 1922, recognizing the problem of the Navajo on the Public Domain, passed the following resolution:

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Nomads, not from choice but from necessity, the Navajos are individualists with practically no community life, and hence no villages. In a country so isolated social conditions naturally change but slowly, and the people are tenacious of old forms and old customs. Some among the young people have been influenced by church and school, but these run the risk of ridicule and possible ostracism. The social unit is the clan, and marriage between members of the same clan is restricted. For the rest, marriage is generally by Indian custom, and polygamy is still practiced. Socially and economically the position of women is important. Families are traced through the mother's line, and while the horses and cattle belong to the men of the tribe, the sheep and wool are the property of the women. The children receive their share of responsibility at an early age, especially for the care of the sheep and goats.

The Navajo dwellings reflect the nomadic life of their owners, consisting of the most primitive houses or hogans, rude polygonal structures of cottonwood boughs plastered over with adobe. There is little prospect of introducing a more permanent type of residence among the Navajos so long as the old superstition persists according to which the house in which a death has occurred must be destroyed.

In view of housing and sanitary conditions it is hardly surprising to find the situation in regard to general health far from satisfactory. Trachoma affects as many as 50 per cent. of the population, and tuberculosis 10 per cent. Government hospitals are provided at each agency, and in addition there are six mission hospitals¹⁰ which are used by the Indians

"Whereas, our attention has repeatedly been called to the constant encroachments of white cattle men on the ancestral domain of the Navajo people, and the great injustice which is done them in this way, and the cruel evictions of the Navajos that are being resorted to, and the many minor cruelties perpetrated against them, be it resolved that this matter be brought to the attention of the United States Indian Bureau, that if the situation is not fully known, it be carefully studied, and that proper methods be instituted without delay to uphold the rights of these Indians to the peaceful possession of their homes, insuring to them their only means of a livelihood."

¹⁰ These hospitals are:

1. Rehoboth (Christian Reformed); 40 beds (has X-ray apparatus; eye treatment a specialty). 2. San Juan (Pres.); 25 beds. 3. Fort Defiance (Epis.); 25 beds. 4. Indian Wells (Pres.); 20 beds. 5. Red Rock

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living in their neighborhood, but the majority of the tribe is still under the absolute control of the medicine man. This individual is the presiding genius of many of the "sings" and dances which are frequently held, especially when some one is to be treated for an ailment. These "sings" are usually accompanied by feasts which sometimes last for several days, and hence are regarded as social events. The dances are, of course, part of the religious rites and are of frequent occurrence. They are bound to persist until a better substitute can be found for them. The power of the medicine man, though gradually declining as knowledge spreads of modern methods in treating disease, is nevertheless still paramount, and 90 to 95 per cent. of the tribe remain firmly attached to the old superstitions.

Moral conditions in general, judged from the non-Christian standpoint, are better among the Navajos than on many western reservations. The use of intoxicants is not so noticeable in the interior of the reservation, but is increasing along the railroad in proximity of towns. Gambling, though still indulged in by both men and women, is on the wane, and modern social evils are practically unknown, except near white settlements, where the untutored savage has enjoyed the tuition of his civilized neighbors.

On account of the nomadic character of the people, the inaccessibility of many parts of the reservation, and the difficulty of securing water for permanent boarding schools, the education of the Navajos presents the hardest problem before the Indian Bureau to-day. It was stipulated in the treaty of 1868 that there should be a schoolhouse and teacher for every thirty-five children of school age; but this provision has been ignored, with the result that there are 6,487 children without school facilities.¹¹ The percentage of illiteracy on this reser-

(Pres.); 20 beds. 6. Ganado (Pres.); 25 beds. Total, 155 beds. This shows the urgent need of continued and enlarged support of medical missions.

¹¹ Some Government officials place the figures still higher. At the Phoenix Survey Conference, held March, 1922, the following action was taken:

"We are greatly heartened by the statement recently made by the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs with reference to his desire that every

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vation is given as ninety-three.¹² Nine Government boarding schools have been established (ten, if we count Ute Mountain School, where a few Navajos are enrolled), and four day schools. There are also five mission schools. The total capacity of all these schools is 2,300 pupils, and some 500 more are attending Government non-reservation schools. The majority of these schools, however, do not carry pupils beyond the fifth grade, and very few of the children have ever reached highschool. The Government boarding schools are:

NAME OF SCHOOL	LOCATION
Ute Mountain	Towaoc, Colorado
San Juan	Shiprock, New Mexico
Toadlena	Toadlena, New Mexico
Western Navajo	Tuba City, Arizona
Marsh Pass	Marsh Pass, Arizona
Leupp	Leupp, Arizona
Navajo	Fort Defiance, Arizona
Chin Lee	Chin Lee, Arizona
Tohatchi	Tohatchi, New Mexico
Pueblo Bonito	Crown Point, New Mexico

Four of these schools carry the first six grades, the balance having only three or four grades according to the intelligence and progress of the pupils. The total enrollment is 1,823 (including thirty-two at Ute Mountain), the number of boys

Navajo child of school age be provided with adequate school facilities, and in view of the fact that there are 7,000 children of school age not in school, we most respectfully urge

(a) That in order to meet this need, boarding schools be established at points wherever practicable.

(b) Recognizing the great contribution which mission schools are making toward the solution of the educational problem of the Navajos,

We urge that the capacity of these schools be increased and the equipment and personnel be greatly strengthened."

The Fort Apache military post in Arizona and the Fort Wingate military post in New Mexico have recently been sought by the Indian Bureau as sites for non-reservation schools and, when sufficient appropriations are made by Congress, these will provide education for approximately 1,000 Navajos. The Fort Apache school will open September, 1923. Negotiations are still under way for the Fort Wingate post.

¹² It is interesting to note that the percentage of Navajos wearing modern dress is reported as high as 75. This is said to be due to the number who wear "store clothes," but blankets as wraps are still a necessity.

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exceeding that of the girls by one-third. The religious affiliations of the pupils are: Presbyterian, 473; Catholic, 623; Mennonites, 40; Christian Reformed, 473; Unattached, 214.

Facilities for conducting religious services in these schools are given to the missions, the pupils being divided into Roman Catholic and Protestant groups. Sunday services are generally held in the morning. Five of the schools report Sunday schools, with a total enrollment of 417. Week-day religious instruction by missionaries is given in connection with seven schools. It is interesting to note that at least one mission is maintained largely in order to reach the pupils of a neighboring school, from which fifty-seven pupils recently received baptism.

The three Government day schools from which reports were available are Moencopi,^{12a} at Tuba City, and Luki Chuki and Cornfields, at the places of those names, all in Arizona. One of these schools carries three grades, another two, and the third one. The total enrollment is eighty-eight, fifty-nine boys and twenty-nine girls. Religious affiliations are: Presbyterian, 26; Mennonite, 36; Roman Catholic, 26. Religious instruction is given at the Tuba City school by Mennonite missionaries and at one other by Presbyterians. The principal difficulty with the day schools is in securing regular attendance.

Reports were received from the three following mission schools:

Rehoboth is a Christian Reformed boarding school at Rehoboth, near Gallup, New Mexico. Established in 1903, it carries the first eight grades, including industrial work for both boys and girls. Its enrollment is 100, the number of boys and girls being about equal. Religious instruction is part of the curriculum, and a well-equipped Sunday school is maintained. There are also preaching services twice on Sunday. In connection with the institution is a well-equipped hospital under a trained physician and surgeon, which ministers to adults as well as children. This school is a well-equipped and valuable institution. It should be continued and, if possible, enlarged, so as to provide for an increasing number of pupils.

Navajo Indian Industrial School is a Methodist institution

^{12a} Enrolls some Hopis as well as Navajos.

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at Farmington, New Mexico. Started twenty-six years ago, it carries the first six grades, and has an enrollment of sixteen boys and eighteen girls. Religious instruction is part of the curriculum. Plans are under way for enlarging the school, and every encouragement should be given to them.

Kirkwood Memorial Training School, at Ganado, Arizona, is maintained by the Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. The school moved from San Juan, New Mexico, in 1911, starting with one building and an enrollment of five boys and five girls. Its enrollment is now 100, including a few Hopi Indians. Religious instruction is part of the curriculum. Sunday school is held on Friday and the regular church service on Sunday, with a Christian Endeavor meeting in the evening. In connection with the school is also a Bible school, under trained leaders, for the preparation of Indian youths for missionary service. The school is handicapped by an inadequate water supply, which it is hoped may be remedied by drilling artesian wells. This is the only Protestant mission boarding school in the heart of the Navajo territory, and its possibilities are unlimited, depending only on adequate equipment, buildings and teaching personnel.

Missionary work among the Navajos was first undertaken by the Franciscans in the middle of the eighteenth century, but, we are told, "their teachings did not prevail against paganism," and the work was abandoned. Subsequently the tribe was at one time allotted to the Methodists; but only within the past thirty years has any real missionary effort been made. The nomadic habits of the Navajos have, of course, contributed to make this the most neglected of all Indian reservations. At the present time the following denominations are at work in the field:

Methodists: ^{12b} two stations, school and community center, San Juan district, near Farmington.

Presbyterians, U. S. A.: ten stations; represented in all but the Pueblo Bonito jurisdiction.

Christian Reformed: four stations, three in the Pueblo Bonito and one in the San Juan districts.

^{12b} This work was begun by Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge in 1891 on the San Juan River, about twenty-five miles below Farmington.

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Baptists:¹³ principally among the Hopis (q. v.), but also a small amount of Navajo work near Keams Canyon.

Episcopalians: hospital and community work near Fort Defiance and in the Farmington region.

Gospel Union: preaching station at Tuba City.

Plymouth Brethren: station recently located in vicinity of Aneth, Utah, near San Juan River.

Seventh Day Adventists: station at Thoreau, Pueblo Bonito District.

Roman Catholics: reëntered field in 1897 and have since conducted work from St. Michael's Mission as a center, including several mission schools.¹⁴

The Protestant church buildings, which are really mission stations, are valued at \$28,200, the parsonages at \$18,000 and other buildings connected with the mission work at \$26,000. The buildings are mostly adobe. These figures represent only in part the financial investment of the various mission boards, since the churches, which were organized between the years 1899 and 1920, are almost wholly supported by home mission appropriations. The total church membership does not exceed 400, but the estimated number of adherents is 4,000. These figures, however, give only a faint idea of the work actually being carried on in the face of great difficulties. Twelve missions have preaching services every Sunday morning, while evening services are also held in connection with mission and Government schools. Sunday schools are conducted at six points. Other organizations include Christian Endeavor Societies, Women's Societies, Returned Students' Clubs, and a Girls' Needlework Club.

House to house visitation, which means actually going from hogan to hogan and from camp to camp, is perhaps the most effective method of reaching the adults. A great deal of the missionary's time is consumed in this way, as more often than

¹³ Begun by the New Mexico Convention in 1901. The American Baptist Home Missionary Society took up work at Two Gray Hills, N. M., 1907, but transferred to Keams Canyon in 1912.

¹⁴ The largest of these schools is at St. Michael's, with an enrollment of 250. About one-third of the pupils are Navajos, the balance Papagos and other tribes. It was at this station that Monsignor Webber carried on his translation work whereby the Navajo language was put into print. For the location of other Roman Catholic stations see map.

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not he will find the usual camp site deserted and his prospective parishioners removed to some distant spot, up the canyon, across the desert, or farther into the mountains, grazing their herds. One denomination has appointed a missionary to give his full time to this itinerant work. Naturally a prerequisite for effective effort is a knowledge of the Navajo language; and four or five of the missionaries have become proficient in this difficult tongue. During the past few years, portions of the Scriptures and a number of Christian hymns have been translated into the Navajo language. Fifteen ordained missionaries are in charge of these stations, besides some seventy lay workers, including visiting nurses, deaconesses, teachers, evangelists and interpreters. All of these are doing most faithful work and in the face of discouraging conditions express optimism as to the future of their fields.

From the fact that only 400 Navajos out of a population of 32,000 are definitely identified with churches, it is evident that an intensive concentration of Christian forces is demanded. The Navajo tribe is the last great stronghold of paganism among the Indians, with all that that implies in the way of non-adjustment to modern conditions of life. Probably an additional fifty years or more of missionary work will be needed to reach these scattered nomads of the desert. Sound judgment has already been exercised in occupying the strategic centers. There is need now for the careful selection of other centers for the construction of well-equipped community houses with provision for sewing, bathing, cooking and similar conveniences. Such houses would serve as the logical centers for a wholesome social and recreational life for the returned students.¹⁵ The Presbyterians already have a community center at Indian Wells, but others are needed at Ganado, Fort Defiance, Chin Lee and Shiprock. A station is also needed between Tuba City and Kayenta. The Methodists have recently opened up a community work in the vicinity of Farmington.

¹⁵ The projected out-stations for the Navajo field (see also map) are as follows: Thief Rock, Presbyterian; Chaco, Christian Reformed; Canyon City, Christian Reformed; Alamo, Christian Reformed; Beautiful Mountain, Christian Reformed.

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It would not be wise to multiply denominations, but the agencies already in the field should extend their activities along the lines of increased personnel, better material equipment, and itinerant missionary work to reach more effectually the nomadic population. A missionary from the field thus states the desirable program of advance for the Navajo country: "The great need for workers is on our Navajo field, where the 32,000 Indians are pagan almost to a man. With the exception of one or two points the field is well supplied with mission stations, but our man power and equipment are woefully lacking. Out-stations are badly needed, and workers, native or white, to man them; also more adequate equipment and financial support. Undoubtedly this latter need is more urgent at present than that of entering new fields or opening new mission stations." The methods so successfully employed among the Nez Perces¹⁶ should be followed, and at every mission station a small group of promising native leaders should be trained for missionary service in the future.

HOPIS

On the tops of three high mesas, called respectively Polacca, Toreva and Oraibi, at an elevation of 7,000 feet above the sea level and several hundred feet above the surrounding country, are five villages, the homes of the Hopi¹⁷ tribe of Indians. Beneath the villages, through the lowlands of the reservation, are scattered the farms of this peace-loving, industrious people. The word Hopi itself means "peaceful ones," and for generations the Indians of this tribe have been successful dry farmers, industrious and self-supporting, docile, honest and well-behaved. The site of their villages, high up on the table-lands, is historically attributable to their peace-loving character, for they sought these inaccessible spots as a refuge from the Apaches, Navajos and other marauding bands of early days. Their reservation, the Moqui, established by Executive order in 1882, embraces an area of 2,472,320 acres, all unallotted,

¹⁶ See Ch. XIII, § V.

¹⁷ Also known as the Moqui, a name which, however, is distasteful to them.

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consisting largely of rolling, desert country, and is under the Moqui superintendency at Keams Canyon.¹⁸ The present population is 2,236, all full-bloods, distributed among 511 families.¹⁹ There has been a slight increase in population during the last ten years. The villages are isolated, being from ninety to 120 miles from a railroad, and means of communication are limited.

An agricultural and pastoral people, the Hopis allow the considerable coal deposits of their reservation to go undeveloped, using the sparse supply of timber for firewood. Their chief sources of income are farming and the raising of sheep and cattle. The Hopi farmer is expert in conserving moisture, and by means of dry farming and limited irrigation 900 Indians cultivate 4,000 acres of land, growing small grains and vegetables. They own 4,350 horses (mostly scrub ponies); 2,635 head of cattle, and 107,000 sheep. Every family also has some chickens. A few of the men are engaged in freighting, and thirty-six are regularly and 167 irregularly employed by the Government Indian Service. The women do not weave blankets, but occasionally make pottery for tourist trade, while between seventy and eighty persons are engaged in basket- and plaque-making. No land is leased to outsiders. There is little poverty, and no rations or annuities are given.

The Hopis are among the most conservative of all Indian tribes, bitterly opposing progress of every kind—schools, medical work and Christianity. Indeed, the penalty of a Hopi Indian becoming a Christian is virtual ostracism from the tribe, and most of those who have embraced Christianity live in houses below the mesas, where also are situated the mission stations and schools. The community is divided into numerous clans, which dominate its social life, the most famous being the Snake clan, and so strong is the opposition of these clans to Christianity that one clan recently left its old habitat at Oraibi as a protest against the establishment of

¹⁸ This agency also includes 2,700 Navajos, see page 275.

¹⁹ The population by villages is as follows: Polacca, 655; Toreva, 355; Chimopovy, 257; Oraibi, 422; Hoteville, 547.



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

LAGUNA INDIAN HUSKING CORN



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

HOPi BREAD MAKERS

The two maidens, characterized by the dressing of the hair in whorls, are engaged in reducing to meal the ears of corn in the basket. The married woman in the corner mixes the meal with the water and wood ashes, giving it a gray color, and whips the mixture to a thin batter. Her companion spreads the batter on the baking stone with a sweep of her hand.



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History]

DRYING CORN FOR WINTER USE

The ears are picked while "in the milk" and roasted, afterwards being suspended by the husks to dry.



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

A ZUNI SHRINE

The Heppatinna, as this shrine is called, is dedicated to the center of the earth over which it is supposed to stand.

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schools and missionaries on this remote mesa. Ancestor worship is strong; the old superstitions are faithfully observed by a large majority of the people, even returned students finding it difficult to withstand the "tyranny of custom" and relapsing into old Indian ways; in fact, not less than 95 per cent. of the tribe are still almost wholly under the influence of the old religion.

The outstanding form in which superstition expresses itself is, of course, in the dances, of which the most famous is the "Snake Dance," held in August and rapidly becoming commercialized. Here, as among some of the Indians of New Mexico,²⁰ notably the Pueblos and Zunis, there are secret as well as public dances, the former accompanied by many demoralizing features, and "special privileges" are accorded to the young men partaking in the dances. The Government's attitude towards the dances is to permit but not to encourage them. They are encouraged, however, by scientists, tourists and artists, and a "National Association to Help Indians" has even been organized, with headquarters at Los Angeles, whose avowed purpose is to "preserve ancient customs, beliefs and rites."²¹

Among the Hopis, as with so many Indian tribes, the greatest obstacle to progress is the women. Here we have no "parlor socialists" or "pink teas," but the women, who are the dominating influence in the tribe, cling tenaciously to the old order. Hence tribal marriages are still the rule. The proportion of legal marriages is, indeed, reported as high as 66 per cent., but in every case Indian custom marriages have preceded the obtaining of a license. Polygamy is not practiced, but, judged by Christian standards, there is much looseness in marriage relations. The greatest hindrance to moral progress, as it relates to home life, is what has been termed "child prostitution." This is fostered largely by the older women, who seek to give away girls, after reaching the age of puberty, to those whom they would have as desirable sons-in-law.

²⁰ See above, § I.

²¹ See *Sunset Magazine*, October, 1921.

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The mesa villages are congested, the houses small and low-ceilinged, built of adobe and usually two or three stories high. As a result of living conditions and continual inbreeding, the vitality of the people is low and their health poor. Trachoma affects 85 per cent.; tuberculosis, 25 per cent. To combat disease there are a Government and a mission hospital, and also a Government physician and a field matron. Coöperation of the Indians with these agencies, it is stated, has been more marked during the last five years than formerly. Alcohol is little used, but gambling is prevalent.

The majority of Hopi children now attend school,²² but this result has only been achieved in face of determined opposition. Indeed, one of the old reactionary chiefs, You-ke-ome, at one time and another interfered to such an extent in administrative matters that he has served some seven years in different prisons. The percentage of illiteracy is 75, and is decreasing; 52 per cent. of the people wear modern dress, that is, "store clothes."

There are five Government day schools, situated at Toreva (2), Hoteville, Polacca and Oraibi. The first was established in 1893, the last in 1915. All carry only the first three grades. The total enrollment is 336, 174 boys and 162 girls, the largest enrollment being at Oraibi. The employee staff numbers thirteen. After pupils finish the third grade they are sent to non-reservation boarding schools. No religious instruction is given at the day schools, all the religious work for the pupils being done in connection with the missions at the villages.

Missionary work among the Hopis was carried on by Franciscans during the seventeenth century, but the priests were finally massacred or driven out, and the Roman Catholics have never reëntered the field. Work is now carried on by the Mennonites and Baptists (Northern Convention), the former having established a mission in 1893 and the latter in 1901.²³

The Mennonites have five chapels established at Moencopi,

²² Of the 555 in school, 336 are in day schools and 219 in non-reservation schools.

²³ This is known as the Sunlight Mission and was established by the Woman's American Baptist Home Missionary Society. It was generated by the missionary spirit among the Kiowas at Saddle Mountain, Okla.

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Hoteville, and Oraibi, upper and lower villages. The personnel consists of an ordained missionary and his wife, an assistant missionary, two women workers, and two natives, one a pastor, and one an evangelist. The material equipment at Oraibi, including chapel and manse, is valued at \$5,000; Hoteville, \$4,000, and Moencopi, \$12,000. There is an orphanage at Tuba City valued at \$3,000. The membership of the Oraibi church is thirty-five, thirteen of whom have attended non-reservation schools. Service, generally in the native tongue but sometimes interpreted, is held in each chapel every Sunday morning, and there is also a Sunday school. An important part of the missionary work is the "street meetings," held in the mesa villages, the chapels all being below on mission grants. The prospects of self-support for the church are remote. The great need is the development of a well-trained, forceful native leadership, such as is beginning to be supplied by the two native helpers, who are progressing in their work, but who must be reënforced by men of more training.

The Baptist church was organized in 1910 at the First Mesa. The church building is valued at \$4,000, the parsonage at \$2,000. Two women missionaries are in charge. The membership is sixty-one, including seven white members. Services (interpreted) are held Sunday mornings and afternoons, with an average attendance of twenty and thirty-five respectively. The Sunday school membership is seventy-seven, a large number of day school pupils attending. Two women missionaries are stationed at the Second Mesa and are doing valiant service. The missionary, who lives at Keams Canyon, also serves the above points, ten and twenty miles respectively from the main charge. He is assisted by four catechists, one interpreter, and the four women workers. This mission also carries on some station work among the Navajos. The work of the mission has the unqualified support of the Government authorities and has been a great influence for good.

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PIMAS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

Indians of four tribes inhabit the 1,275,107 acres embraced by the Salt River and Gila River reservations, of which the former covers 75,000 and the latter 1,200,107 acres. Of this area of level country, with its sandy stretches of desert land that are productive only under irrigation, 869,334 acres remain unallotted. The Pimas are the principal tribe, with a population of 5,171, the others being Maricopas, of Yuman stock, with ninety-six, Apaches with 231, and Papagos, with 1,760, making a total population of 7,258. The population has increased during the last ten years on the Salt River reservation, but has remained stationary on the other.

Known in their own language as "*The People*," the Pimas have much the same traditions as other southwestern tribes. There is evidence of a pueblo stage in the history of the tribe, but constant raids by Apaches seem to have led to the abandoning of permanent dwellings in favor of dome-shaped lodges of poles covered with brush and adobe. The inroads of the Apaches are similarly responsible for the great decrease in numbers of this once populous tribe. The Pimas were joined by the Maricopas many years ago, and the two peoples have lived together in harmony for several generations. The Pimas have intermarried freely with the Maricopas, but not with the other two tribes. There is still noticeable a certain amount of tribal feeling between the Pimas and the Apaches.

Twenty thousand acres of the reservations are classed as mineral lands, but these are undeveloped. The scrub cedar and mesquite wood are used for fuel only. Cattle and poultry supply the chief source of income, the Indians possessing 4,379 head of cattle, 9,794 horses, 300 swine, and 6,000 head of poultry. From prehistoric times the Pimas have understood the practice of irrigation, and by its use they are able to raise to-day small grains and cotton, a little wheat and alfalfa. The irrigation system has, however, been a bone of contention ever since the coming of white settlers to lands above the reservation. These have not only drawn off the water before it reached the Indians, but have coveted the

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Indian lands on account of their adaptability to the growth of long staple cotton. The Government has stepped in and given the Indians a measure of protection, and an irrigation scheme to save the water for the Indians is under contemplation. It may be doubted, however, whether a complete solution of the problem has yet been reached. Cotton picking, road-making and freighting supply occupation for a number of Indians, employing from 500 to 1,500 at seasonable times, while the fine baskets made by the women are in great demand. Farms are leased in whole or in part by 252 Indians. The Pimas, like other tribes of the Southwest, are as a rule thrifty, and there is little poverty among them except during periods of drought or when deprived of their water rights.

As a result of early contacts with Roman Catholic missionaries and later with Protestants, Christian standards of family life prevail to a considerable extent. The marriage laws are to-day uniform, very few marriages being contracted according to Indian custom, but twelve divorces were reported during the twelve-month period preceding the survey. The position of women, ever a determining factor among Indians, is that of the average white community of similar rank, a result attributable almost wholly to Christian influence. The Church, indeed, is the dominant influence in directing public opinion among the Pimas, with whom the old Indian religion has no following. Conditions are less favorable among the Fort McDowell Apaches, of whom not less than half are still under the influence of Indian superstition. This influence is, however, decreasing throughout the two reservations, as is indicated by the infrequent occurrence of Indian dances. In general, the recreational life of the community revolves around the Government schools and the churches. Among the organizations encouraged by these agencies may be mentioned the Pima Athletic Association and the orchestra and band, while it is to be noted that "Clean-up Week" and "Thrift Week" are regularly observed.

Housing conditions are comparatively favorable on the Gila as well as on the Salt River reservation. On the former are 840 adobe houses, with two or more rooms. The general

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health is good, tuberculosis being nowhere higher than 3 per cent., and trachoma varying between 2 and 10 per cent. Very little alcohol is used, and no cases of prostitution are reported. Gambling is not general. The Indian courts impose cash fines and labor in gambling cases.

There is a total of seventeen schools on the two reservations, two on Salt River and fifteen on the Gila River. Of these, eleven are Government day schools, one is a Government boarding school, and five are mission schools. The percentage of illiteracy on the reservations is decreasing, although at present it is as high as 50 or 60 per cent. Of the schools the Charles H. Cook Bible Training School, at Phoenix, Arizona, is of sufficient interest to require special notice.

This school was started by the Synod of Arizona, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., the buildings being erected in 1914. It has now an enrollment of thirty. The course of instruction covers three years, each term running from October to May. Each applicant is required to have the approval of his pastor and of the session of his church before admission. Students while in attendance support themselves largely from work done afternoons and Saturdays. An indispensable requirement for admission is a reading and conversational knowledge of English. The purpose of the institution is to give Bible instruction and training to native leaders for church work. The medium of instruction is English. Extension work is furnished through Bible class work at the near-by Government school, pastoral visitation at the Phoenix Sanatorium where Sunday school is conducted by more advanced students, and occasional preaching in nearby villages.²⁴

The school is supported jointly by the Arizona Presbytery and the Board of Home Missions Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Tribes represented are: Navajo, Hopi, Mohave, Pima, Papago, and Maricopa. There are three instructors. For the benefit of students already married a unique cottage system has been inaugurated whereby two- or three-room cottages are

²⁴ A more recent development is the work in behalf of the Yaquis in their village near Phoenix. A house has already been constructed for the student pastor.

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available at very low rental. A small scholarship payment in times of need is advanced to deserving students. In connection with this school there is also a church, organized in 1915, which makes use of the school chapel for services held Sunday mornings. Here students from the near-by Phoenix Government boarding school are in attendance (especially Presbyterians). The total on the church rolls is 124, two-thirds being Government school pupils. Thirty-three were received on confession of faith in 1921. One of the instructors at the Bible school is the pastor at this church.

The other schools in the reservation are as follows:

Pima Government Boarding School at Sacaton: Established 1871; first six grades carried; enrollment 218, 102 boys and 116 girls. Religious affiliations: Roman Catholic 37; Presbyterian 181. Religious instruction by both Protestants and Roman Catholics. Sunday schools conducted at near-by missions, and weekly catechetical classes held by Presbyterians. A Christian Endeavor for both juniors and intermediates is also conducted, and much attention is given to a constructive social and athletic program by the community secretary.

Government Day Schools: Eleven day schools established between 1890 and 1918. Ten carry first three grades; one has only the first grade at present. Equipment, fair. Total enrollment: 376, 203 boys and 173 girls. Religious affiliation: Presbyterian 264; Roman Catholic 77; Mormon 26; unattached 9. Pupils attend Sunday school at local mission churches. At nine of these schools some week-day religious instruction is given, ranging from half an hour to two hours weekly.

Mission Schools:

(a) Presbyterian day school²⁵ at Statonic, six miles from Sacaton, opened in 1919. Grades, one to three; enrollment, 16 boys, 12 girls, all Pimas. All pupils come from villages, none at greater distance than a mile and a half.

(b) Roman Catholic Mission Schools are: St. John's boarding school at Gila Crossing; enrollment 283 (Pimas and Papagos). Day school at Gila Crossing; enrollment 17. St. Ann's day school, Sacaton Flats; enrollment 24. St. Michael's, Santan; enrollment 18.

(c) Mormon: A Mormon bishop is attempting to maintain a

²⁵ A new Presbyterian day school has recently been started at Gila Crossing without help from the Church Board. Enrollment 16.

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Mormon day school at Santan in connection with his church, six miles from Sacaton. At the time of the survey only four pupils were enrolled and attendance was irregular.

Early records show that Father Garces labored among the Pimas as far back as 1775, and traces of the teachings of early Spanish priests remained though the missions were abandoned. The first Protestant efforts came in 1870 through an itinerant missionary, Charles H. Cook, a veteran of the Civil War, who felt himself called to convert the desert Indians. Without receiving any help from a missionary board this sturdy pioneer determined to blaze a trail all alone, eking out a bare existence during the first years of his missionary work as a teacher in the Government school. A little later he started an independent mission, which was taken over, in 1878, by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

Fifty years of missionary endeavor among the Pimas have wrought marked changes. The churches are well organized. Native leadership has been stressed, with the result that several congregations are now in charge of native pastors. Extension work has been carried on among neighboring tribes.²⁶ The churches report an average of 263 members per church, which is the highest average of any group of Indian churches. Auxiliary organizations seem to be in a thriving condition. A strong Christian Endeavor work is carried on with a view to reaching the young people. Last year the Pimas carried off the State banner for attendance at the annual convention.

Of much promise is the plan now about to be launched on this field of introducing a modern rural church program. This will be under the auspices of the Country Life Department of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and if successful will be tried in other fields. The Pima field is an ideal place for such an experiment. Here one finds the open country parishes, with a village here and there, which may serve as a social center. There is everything to gain by such a program of applied social Christianity.

²⁶ The Christian Pimas at Gila Crossing are also doing extension work among the Mexican cotton pickers in the vicinity.

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In the old days the Indian centered everything upon his religion, which entered into every phase of his life. His planting, harvesting, feasting, recreation—in short, all interests, including health, were intimately bound up with religion. The community church, which has not penetrated far into the Indian country, has a real mission to fill. The young people, on going home from the schools, will quickly fit in if there are organizations open to them for aggressive work. They do not want to return to pagan faiths; they know that these are false. Many have had a taste of Christianity and are eager to be of help, but are somewhat confused to know just where they can serve. A well organized community program on a comprehensive basis, such as it is hoped the one at Pima will be, will satisfy the religious, intellectual and social desires and longings of both old and young.

A more detailed analysis of church organization follows:

Protestant Churches: Six making reports, with reservations and locations, are: Presbyterian, Salt River,^{26a} Maricopa Co.; Presbyterian of Gila Crossing, Gila River, Maricopa Co.; Blackwater Indian, Gila River, Pinal Co.; Pima First, Gila River, Pinal Co.; Maricopa First, Pima, Maricopa Co.; Casa Blanca, Gila River, Maricopa Co.

Material Equipment: Value of land, \$1,200; church buildings, \$32,800, including \$25,000 expended on the church recently built by the Indians themselves as a memorial to the veteran missionary, Dr. Cook. Value of three parsonages, \$6,300; other buildings, \$3,000. All buildings of adobe. Seating capacity, 2,040, an average of 340 per church.

Finances: All churches receive home mission aid, but are becoming increasingly self-supporting. Three use budget system; all contribute to missions and benevolences. Receipts last fiscal year; \$8,765 (\$4,283 from subscriptions, \$512 from collections. Of subscriptions \$3,800 came from First Pima Indian Church at Sacaton.) Expenditures, \$8,767, an average of \$1,446 per church.

Membership: Total on rolls, 1,581, an average of 263 per church. The average of boy and girl members is also high. Net gain for the year, 48.

^{26a} The Presbyterians also carry on work for scattered groups off the Salt River Reservation, notably among the Apaches in the Verde Valley. (See below under Camp Verde.)

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Services and Attendance: Sunday morning, 4; Sunday evening, 6; mid-week, 5. Total attendance, morning, 436; evening, 654; average attendance, morning, 109; evening, 109. The average is swelled by the attendance at the Sacaton Church of the children from the Government boarding school near by.

Church Organizations: All churches have Sunday schools, with total enrollment of 1,604. Two Y. M. C. A.'s, membership 22. Five Christian Endeavor Societies (2 juniors, 1 intermediate), membership 89.

Missionaries and Pastors: All but three are native. The superintendent serves three points and has five additional stations under his care. All report future of the field as hopeful.

Mormon Work: Two organized churches, value \$7,500; membership, 186. Also station work in Government school at Phoenix, with 26 pupils under their religious supervision. One Sunday school, with enrollment of 70.

Roman Catholic Work: Reëntered the field in 1905, and established St. Anthony's Church and mission. Membership, 30 adults, 35 children, 50 families claimed as adherents. Fourteen out-stations on Gila River and two on Salt River. St. John's Church, at Gila Crossing, 14 miles from Phoenix, has an estimated membership of 400, 250 Pimas and 150 Papagos. Estimated adherents on Salt River reservation, 235.

PAPAGOS

The "Desert Indians" is the name by which the Papagos are known to distinguish them from the Pimas, the "River Indians," with whom they are linguistically allied. Like the Pimas, they have always been known as a peaceful and industrious people, and in the past they suffered much from Apache raids. The present Papago reservation was established only in 1916, and consequently the estimate of population, 4,573,²⁷ is only approximate, since prior to that date fully 85 per cent. of the Papagos lived on the public domain, roaming over vast areas between Mexico and the United States. Their original reservation at San Xavier, set aside by Executive orders in 1874 and 1882, was small and was inhabited only by the agricultural Papagos, who inherited from distant ages a knowledge of elementary engineering and irrigation.

²⁷ There are also 1,753 Papagos under the Gila River jurisdiction, making a total of 6,326.

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The present reservation embraces an area of 2,275,000 acres of rolling desert country, with a few mountain ranges running north and south and breaking the reservation into well-defined valleys. Most of the land lies in Pima County, extending from the Mexican border north to the Pima reservation. The only allotted part is 41,606 acres which are under irrigation in the old San Xavier reservation.

Cattle-raising is the principal industry, the tribe owning a total of 30,000 head. There are also several thousand poor, and for the most part useless, ponies. With an annual rainfall of only ten inches, a fair crop of corn, beans, squash, etc., is produced by dry farming methods, 16,000 acres being so cultivated. Occasional employment is furnished to the Indians by ten small mines on the reservation, and more than a thousand are engaged either in this form of seasonal labor or in the cotton fields or on ranches. Basket-making employs 750 women, and wood-cutting, 400 men. The people are independent and self-reliant. There is little poverty, except during severe seasons of drought, and no rations or annuities are received from the Government, nor is any land leased to outsiders.

The Papagos are all, at least nominally, under Christian influence, and the old Indian religion and superstition consequently present no problem, except in the case of a few Yaquis,²⁸ who recently drifted over the border from Mexico. The family life of the Papagos is similar to that of the Pimas (q. v.). The village is the unit of the community life. There are almost 100 of these villages, each consisting of from ten to thirty houses and constituting a little self-governing community. There are no marked social distinctions, nor is there any tribal chief. Such Indian dances as are held take the form of fiestas, similar to those of the Catholic Mission Indians in California. The economic life of the community is beneficially

²⁸ Within the past two years the Yaquis have come over into other parts of Arizona. For instance, 400 are reported near Tucson, while between 1,200 and 1,500 are located in other sections of the State. This gives ample opportunity for extension work on the part of the Christian Pimas and Papagos.

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affected by a water users' association and a live-stock association, recently organized by the Indians themselves.

Most of the Indians have both a town and a country residence. This is not a sign of plutocracy, but is due to physical conditions. From their homes in the villages, near their fields and charcos (wells), they move to those on higher elevations when water gives out on the plains. The houses, which are of adobe, are generally well kept. Tuberculosis is not prevalent, but trachoma is on the increase and there is also a certain amount of skin disease. Efforts are now being made to eradicate trachoma, but a hospital is needed on the reservation, the nearest being at Tucson,²⁹ more than 100 miles distant from most of the villages. At Tucson also is a field matron service, which is especially helpful among such Indian girls as are working as domestics. The use of alcohol is not prevalent, though tiswin, an intoxicant made by Papagos living further north, is occasionally indulged in. There is some gambling by both men and women, not for large stakes, but as a pastime.

Education is provided for by twelve mission schools and four Government day schools. A number of children are also enrolled at non-reservation schools, but it is estimated that 796 are without adequate educational facilities. The percentage of illiteracy, high until recently, is decreasing.³⁰

The school at San Xavier, originally established by the Catholics, in 1864, is now a contract day school, with an enrollment of 103, and a curriculum predominantly Roman Catholic. The other Government schools, which carry only the first three grades, with their enrollment, are: Santa Rosa, 25; Sells, 16; Vamori, 31.

Of the mission schools, eight are Roman Catholic day schools, with a combined enrollment of 381, while two are Roman Catholic boarding schools, with an enrollment of 186. There is also the Tucson Training School, at Escuela, Arizona, opened in 1888, and maintained by the Women's Board of

²⁹ Since this survey was made a hospital has been opened at Sells, to accommodate 100 patients.

³⁰ The number of Indian pupils enrolled in the Tucson public schools is negligible—only eight or ten.

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Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.³¹ This is a boarding school, carrying the first eight grades. It is equipped with two dormitories and seven other buildings, including a chapel and industrial buildings. There are 160 acres of land in connection with it, of which sixty acres are under cultivation. The total value of land and buildings is not less than \$300,000. The total enrollment is 151—sixty-four boys and eighty-seven girls, all from the Papago and Pima tribes. The employee staff numbers fourteen. Religious instruction is part of the school curriculum, and a Sunday school and preaching service are held every Sunday. There is also a Christian Endeavor Society. No tuition is charged, but all pupils earn part of their expenses. The school ranks easily as one of the best mission schools in the Southwest. The present need is to increase its capacity, more dormitories being especially needed.

Since 1692, when the famous Jesuit priest, Father Kino, visited the tribe, the Papagos have been continuously under Roman Catholic influence. The beautiful old mission church known as San Xavier, which from time to time has been partially destroyed and rebuilt, was founded originally in 1700 by Father Kino. The Franciscans succeeded the Jesuits in 1768, and to-day there are eleven Catholic churches and six priests on the reservation, while four-fifths of the population are said to be adherents of the Roman Catholic Church.

Protestant work in this field, originally assigned to the Methodists, was finally organized by the Presbyterians, who started their earliest mission in 1903. There are now five Presbyterian missions, with a white superintendent in charge and four native workers. The church buildings are all of adobe, valued at about \$1,500 each. The work is supported mainly by home mission aid.³² The total membership of the churches is 179, not including the church at Vamori, organized in 1919, of which the membership is twenty-six. The Papago church at Tucson has the largest membership, sixty-five. Three

³¹ The Presbyterians also have a mission day school at Topawa, enrollment 14.

³² Three churches, nevertheless, paid \$1,800 toward five-year pledges made to the denomination.

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churches hold Sunday morning services, three afternoon services, and two evening, the average attendance ranging between thirty and forty. The services are partly in the native language and partly interpreted. Three churches have Sunday schools, with an average enrollment of twenty-five per school, and three Women's Societies are reported. Visitation constitutes a large part of the pastoral work.

SAN CARLOS AND WHITE RIVER APACHES

Situated in parts of Gila, Graham, Apache and Navajo counties, the San Carlos and White River reservations are peopled by eight or ten tribal bands of mixed origin but known generically as Apaches. With a history similar to that of the Mescaleros, these bands are said to have originated from the outcasts of other tribes—Navajos, Hopis and Yumas—and to have in addition a mixture of the blood of Mexican renegades. With other Apaches, they took part in Geronimo's raids in 1886, and though a reservation was set aside for them in 1871 it was not until the early 'nineties that they could be induced to remain on their reserve.

The population of the San Carlos reservation, consisting of 1,834,240 acres, is 2,515; that of the Fort Apache reservation with 1,681,920 acres is 2,358, giving a total population of 4,873 for 3,516,160 acres of unallotted territory, the character of which ranges from sandy, barren wastes to mountainous country. Near San Carlos is the famous Roosevelt Dam. The Indian population of San Carlos has decreased owing to an epidemic of influenza; that of Fort Apache shows an increase attributable to better sanitation. There are some 200 white people living on the San Carlos reservation, and the township of Rice is a mining community. None of the Indians are citizens.

The natural resources of the reservations are considerable, but largely undeveloped. They consist of asbestos, copper, the famous tuva building stone, and between 800,000 and 900,000 board feet of timber. Despite this potential wealth, poverty is endemic, affecting between 90 and 95 per cent. of

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the Indians at seasonal times and necessitating the distribution of rations annually to 383 of the old and indigent. The principal source of income is grazing receipts, there being 6,518 head of cattle, and 6,958 horses on the reservations. Very little farming is attempted, though small grains can be raised under irrigation. Road-building employs 200 Indians, ditch work 300, and quarrying 100, while seventy-five find part-time work in the Government Indian service. During the building of the Roosevelt Dam large numbers found employment in that work. Basket-making, the only native industry, engages a small number, and between 300 and 400 are employed at seasonal times in wood-cutting.

Domestic conditions in general are primitive and similar to those among the Jicarillas (q. v.). Fifty per cent. of the marriages are by Indian custom, and the women, in particular, avoid white settlements and civilizing influences. Nearly 2,000 Indians, almost half of the combined population of the two reservations, live in one-room houses, which are in reality nothing more than shacks and wickiups, and these living conditions, combined with under-nourishment, tend to foster tuberculosis, which affects 25 per cent., and trachoma, which affects 70 per cent. Hospital facilities are limited, being in connection with the Government schools only, while the huge expanse of territory makes difficult the work of the three field matrons assigned to the San Carlos reservation. The difficulty is increased by the unwillingness of the Indians to coöperate and by the influence of the medicine men.

In general these Apaches are clannish, reactionary and suspicious of the white man. For one of them to become a Christian means a decline in the social scale; hence the number of Christianized Indians is small, and from 90 to 96 per cent. are controlled by the old superstitions. The influence of the medicine man and belief in "witch power" are strong. Bad spirits, or "cin-dis," profoundly affect the lives of the people, and a mystic significance attaches to even numbers. These and other superstitions are fostered by the addiction of men and women of the tribe to the drug known as tulapai, a very intoxicating native drink. Indeed, the Tulapai, a so-

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ciety composed of those addicted to the drink, exercises a powerful, and naturally reactionary, influence upon public opinion. To this drink, also, as well as to gambling, which is a prevalent vice, may be traced most of the quarrels among the Indians, which occasionally result in murder. The administration of justice by the Indian courts leaves something to be desired because the courts themselves sympathize with the users of tulapai. Another demoralizing influence is, of course, the Indian dances, which are prevalent in the summer and which constitute the only form of recreation.

The percentage of illiteracy on the two reservations is estimated at from 80 to 85, and the number of children without school facilities at 409. There are seven Government schools, and three Lutheran mission day schools. Of the latter, one is on the San Carlos reservation, with an enrollment of thirty, and two are on the Fort Apache reservation, with enrollments of nineteen and thirty-nine.

Two of the Government schools are boarding schools, one at Rice, on the San Carlos reservation, the other at Fort Apache. Both carry the first six grades, but their general equipment is poor. Facilities for religious instruction are given to Lutheran and Roman Catholic missionaries. At the Rice school the enrollment is 236—140 boys and 96 girls. Religious affiliations show: Lutheran, 148, Roman Catholic, 14; unattached, 74. At the Fort Apache school the enrollment is 275, and religious oversight is largely in the hands of the Lutheran missionaries. Opposition on the part of parents is a problem in both schools.

Of the day schools, three are on the Fort Apache reservation, with an average attendance of thirty-three per school, and two on the San Carlos reservation, with an average of eighty-four per school. The general program is similar to that of other day schools in the Southwest.

The Evangelical Lutherans have this difficult field to themselves so far as Protestantism is concerned, and have been in the field since 1894. They now have two stations on the San Carlos reservation, one just outside, and three on the Fort Apache reservation, the value of the church buildings



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

A Navajo's corn crop



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

A field of Hopi corn and melons

FARMING WITHOUT IRRIGATION IN ARIZONA



A NAVAJO FAMILY

The mother is an interpreter at the Mission Hospital at Ganado, Arizona, and was educated at the Mission School.



A RETURNED STUDENT'S HOME

This is the sort of dwelling to which Navajo Girls who have been away at school sometimes have to return.

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ranging from \$1,500 to \$2,000. There are three parsonages and one school building. Five missionaries are in charge, and there are seven interpreters. Three of the churches are organized, with a total membership of 273, but 1,200 adherents are claimed for the six stations. Preaching services are held at four of the churches every Sunday morning, with an average attendance of thirty. At the other points services are held monthly. There is a Sunday school at one point only, and no other church organizations. The work is dependent wholly on home mission aid.

The Roman Catholics entered the field recently, establishing a mission station at Rice, on the San Carlos reservation. There they have erected a church building valued at \$10,000, and in connection with it have started two mission schools, one at San Carlos and one at Fort Apache. There are about fourteen pupils in attendance at the school near Rice.³³

Of the total population of 4,873 Indians on these two reservations, 3,200 are reported as "unreached" by either Protestant or Catholic agencies—2,000 on the San Carlos and 1,200 on the Fort Apache reservation. In addition, there are three groups of Apaches, numbering in all 200, near the Roosevelt Dam, just off the reservation, unreached either by religious influences or by schools. These people make tulapai and carouse a good deal.

Educational medical work and general living conditions need particular attention. The churches are already doing their part in education with four mission day schools. The Government should provide for the children, now numbering 409, without adequate school facilities. A hospital, under either Church or Government auspices, is urgently needed on the San Carlos reservation. Housing conditions are deplorable, and it is evident that little progress can be made until these are improved or until aggressive measures have been taken to stamp out the use of tulapai and the gambling evil.

Since the Lutherans have been doing good work in this field for twenty-five years, it seems evident that they should

³³ St. John's Mission School, in the Pima country, also enrolls some Apache children.

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endeavor to extend their activities so as to cover adequately the two reservations and also to include the groups near Roosevelt Dam. To accomplish this object, additional financial support is required, every phase of missionary activity needs strengthening, and a definite five-year program of work should be carefully outlined.^{33a}

CAMP VERDE RESERVATION

About sixty miles east of Prescott, Arizona, in Yavapai County, lies the Verde Valley. In this region are some 200 unallotted acres of irrigated land, known as the Camp Verde reservation. Here, as well as up and down the valley, are scattered the tepees of the Mohave- and Tonto-Apaches, off-shoots of the Apache family, numbering 436. Since little of their land is fit for agriculture, these Indians lead a roving life, hunting, not for game as in the past, but simply for seasonal employment. A number of them are engaged as day laborers, which, indeed, is their chief source of income. The drinking of tiswin,³⁴ a decoction brewed from maize, and gambling appear to be their principal tribal vices.

Two Government day schools under the Camp Verde superintendency have enrollments of twenty and thirty. Bible classes are conducted for the children by Presbyterian missionaries.

Missionary effort among these people was first begun in 1902, under the auspices of the National Indian Association, with extension work carried on from the Fort McDowell reservation. In 1907 the Presbyterians took up the work and later extended it north to Prescott, Camp Verde and Clarkdale.³⁵ At middle Verde, now called Clemenceau, a

^{33a} Since this survey was made reports have come in from San Carlos and Fort Apache indicating that both missionaries and Government officials have cause for encouragement. More interest is being taken in education and a number of the children are now attending non-reservation schools, not a few being found on the rolls of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

³⁴ See under Mescalero Apaches.

³⁵ It is encouraging to note that native missionaries of the Pima tribe have been of material aid in the promotion of this work and now are

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small smelter town five miles south of Camp Verde, is a Baptist church organized more than forty years ago for the whites. For a number of years Camp Verde Indians have been attending the Sunday school in connection with this church, and recently twenty-six were baptized into the membership of the church. Although the Baptists have no missionary devoting special time to the Indians, the local church has welcomed these unchurched Mohave-Apaches, an example worthy of emulation by other white churches, some of which have been known to hold somewhat aloof from their Indian neighbors.

MOHAVES AND CHEMEHUEVIS

Situated in Yuma and Mohave counties (and partly over the California State line) are two bands of Indians known as the Mohave and Chemehuevi. The latter is known to archæologists as a wandering tribe closely allied with the Utes; the former as the most populous and warlike of the Yuman tribes. These two seem always to have lived in the vicinity of the Colorado River and to have remained quite distinct from other tribes. No treaty has ever been made by them with the United States as to their original territory, although negotiations of a more or less informal nature were opened up with them in 1865, following which their present reservation of 240,699 acres was set aside. In 1915, 6,160 acres were allotted to 619 Indians though the majority of these allotments were never taken up owing to their untoward situation. Their population to-day is 1,141, including the colony at Needles. The raising of cotton, wheat, corn and vegetables, in patches along the Colorado River which do not happen to be inundated, furnishes the chief source of income. Some irrigation also is practiced. Native industries include basket-making and bead work.

Educational facilities are furnished the Colorado River

responsible for the work at five stations, where preaching services are held at least twice a month. The white superintendent of this field (pastor, physician and surgeon) also has charge of the Salt River jurisdiction under the Presbyterians.

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Indians by the presence of two Government boarding schools, one at Fort Mohave, which has an enrollment of 160, and the other at Parker. Consideration of the former will be found under the topic "Non-reservation Schools" in Appendix II.

Opened in 1870, the Parker school carries the first six grades, and has a total enrollment of seventy-six, thirty-five boys and forty-one girls. Religious affiliation of pupils shows all to be under Presbyterian religious instruction. There is a Sunday school every Sunday, divided into four classes. A Christian Endeavor, with a membership of twenty-two, meets weekly. Regular classes in religious instruction are promoted by a native missionary. The school has twelve buildings, all in good repair.

Since 1903 the Presbyterians have been at work at two points on this reservation, namely, Parker and Needles. There is a church at each place, organized respectively in 1912 and 1915, and with memberships of sixty-three and fifteen. Preaching services are held morning and evening; the average attendance being at Needles, eighteen, at Parker, forty-five.

MOHAVES OF NEEDLES, CALIFORNIA

Though officially belonging either on the Fort Mohave reservation, fourteen miles to the east, or on the Colorado River reservation at Parker, sixty-five miles to the south, 350 Mohave Indians live in two settlements in the vicinity of Needles, Calif. Indians have, in point of fact, been settled here since 1861, and the present band regards the locality as its rightful home. The main body lives on the western edge of Needles, and a smaller body, consisting of some six families, on the east side of town. The village of the former group is on land belonging to the Santa Fé Railroad, and the Indians are there by tacit consent of the railroad officials, no ground rent being paid. There are sixty-two houses in this village, which are neat and well ordered notwithstanding their dirt floors. Town water is piped to each house, and the occupant pays a monthly rental of \$1.50. Thirty or more of the men are

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employed by the Santa Fé shops, while others earn their living by freighting, fishing, etc. The women do bead work. All the Indians are self-supporting and most of them speak English.

An unsuccessful attempt was made by the Government at one time to give allotments to these Indians on the Fort Mohave reservation, but the spot chosen was subject to frequent inundation by the Colorado River and the project was abandoned. Now the Indians are being urged to take ten-acre allotments on the reservation at Parker, where arrangements have been made for irrigating 10,000 acres. The Indians, however, are not inclined to take advantage of the offer, preferring the Needles that they know to an uncertain future on the barren land of the south.

The Needles Indians are under the jurisdiction of the Colorado River agency at Parker. They are an orderly, fairly prosperous people, giving little trouble to the one native policeman who lives in the main village. For their habits of cleanliness in their homes they are very largely indebted to the excellent work of the field matron. Their health is good, and the Government physician at Fort Mohave makes regular visits to Needles.

A mission was established at Needles by the Presbyterians some seventeen years ago, with a chapel and an attractive-looking manse. The church, however, appears to be reaching a very small fraction of the people, and the need seems great for a program of community work in which the chapel should be used as a social center for all the activities of the Indians. This would gradually take the place of the dances, moving-picture shows and questionable resorts which at present serve for the expression of their social instincts.

COCOPAHS

Cocopah Indians came over the line from Mexico to southwestern Arizona some twenty-five years ago and squatted on the Public Domain, eking out a living by working on ranches. At their own request a day school was started for

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them by the Indian Office in 1917, and again at their request 500 acres of land were set aside for them by Executive order. Since that time they have been joined by about 300 more Indians from Mexico, making their total number 400. These Indians have no official status in the sight of the United States Government. They are scattered through the Yuma valley, in the vicinity of Somerton, living in brush shacks put up on waste places and the corners of roads and finding work on the ranches. Except for the few who are settled on the small reservation, they are without schools or churches, and the Government seems at a loss to know what to do with them.

The day school, located at Somerton Postoffice, is under the jurisdiction of the Fort Yuma Agency, carries the first three grades and has an enrollment of twenty. There is a single building and one teacher. The Methodist missionary from Yuma makes a twenty-mile trip on Sunday afternoons in order to conduct Sunday school. This missionary is attempting extension work among the Cocopahs in connection with his work on the California side. With increased personnel much might be done along these lines. A trained visiting nurse is needed, and a community work could be established in connection with the Government day school.

KAIBAB, HAVASUPAI AND WALAPAI

In the rugged, mountainous country of northwestern Arizona are three small reservations covering a total area of 889,940 acres, all unallotted. Here dwell the Kaibab, Havasupai and Walapai Indians to the number, all told, of 708.³⁶ The Kaibabs are a division of the Piute Indians. Their present reservation was set aside for them in 1907. The Havasupais, known as the "blue or green water people," were originally a pueblo tribe. Of Yuman stock, they have a patri-

³⁶ Areas and population by reservations are Kaibab, 138,240 acres in Coconino County, 105 persons; Havasupai, 518 acres, in a canyon in Mohave County, 176 persons; Walapai, also known as Truxton Canyon, 73,940 acres in Mohave County, 427 persons.

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archal form of government. Their reservation was set aside for them in 1880. The Walapais, also of Yuman stock, speak a language closely allied to that of the Havasupai. They are a wandering tribe, trespassing especially upon the Navajo and Hopi reservations, and none of them live on the barren reservation that was set aside for them in 1883. Only on the Kaibab reservation has there been a slight increase in population since 1910. On the other two epidemics have caused a decrease. None of these Indians are citizens. The nearest railroad is at Valentine, Arizona. There are two postoffices, but no rural routes on the reservation.

There are no minerals and only scrub timber on these reservations. Cattle grazing is the chief source of income, the tribal herd consisting of 1,272 cattle, while individuals own 530 more. Farming is represented only by the raising of some vegetables in the canyons. On the Havasupai reservation are about eight miles of irrigation ditches, while on the Kaibab, about forty-four acres are under irrigation. Basket-making employs eighty-nine women, and some of the men get seasonal occupation cutting wood. Poverty is at times acute, owing to climatic conditions, drought and improvident living. Rations are issued to ninety persons.

The old Indian superstitions and customs are strong among these primitive people. Practically all the marriages are by Indian custom, and 90 per cent. of the Indians are under the influence of the old religion. Their homes are generally mere shacks, a large proportion of them with only one room. The dry climate keeps tuberculosis at bay, but there is a good deal of sickness due to under-nourishment and low vitality, and the Indians do not coöperate readily with the physician and field matron of the Government hospital, which has been established in connection with the Truxton Canyon school. Alcohol presents no great problem, but gambling is prevalent among men and women. The Indian dances provide the only social and recreational agency.

The three reservations have two day schools and one boarding school, with a total enrollment of 113. One of the day schools, however, that at Havasupai, has ceased operation

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owing to poor attendance due to the difficulty of travel. The Truxton Canyon Government Boarding School, at Valentine, was opened in 1901 and carries the first six grades. The enrollment is 104, the children being Walapais and Navajos, and ninety-five give the Brethren as their religious affiliation. The Brethren missionary conducts a service every Sunday; there is a Sunday school, with an enrollment of forty-nine boys and forty-six girls, and Bible instruction is given on Thursdays. The equipment of the six school buildings is good.

There are two missionary agencies in this field—the Plymouth Brethren, who have worked among the Walapais since 1917, and the Presbyterians, who have recently opened a station at Moccasin, on the Kaibab reservation. The faith mission of the Brethren concerns itself with the Government school at Valentine and with camp visitation. There is no organized church. The Presbyterian missionary divides his time between the Kaibabs and the Shivwits in Utah. The Havasupais remain without missionary oversight, and the problem of reaching them is no easy one. The Brethren might possibly arrange to combine this field with their work at the Valentine station.³⁷

³⁷ The Wallace Lodge Conference on Unreached Fields allocated the Havasupais to the religious oversight of the Brethren.

CHAPTER XIII

ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES

I: Indians of Utah and Colorado

THE UTES

The Utes, or Piutes, as they are also called, the principal tribe in this region, formerly occupied the entire central and western portions of Colorado and eastern Utah. A nomadic people, they were originally divided into seven bands, which at one time were organized in a confederacy. Their first treaty with the United States Government was made in 1849, and in 1861 Uintah Valley was set apart for a band that went by that name. Seven years later, in 1868, the reservation in Colorado was established, and in 1879 reservations were set aside for three bands on the San Juan River. The following year the Southern Utes agreed to settle on Grand River, where land was subsequently allotted to them in severalty, of which 523,079 acres were thrown open to settlement in 1899. For the Wiminuche Utes 375,960 acres were retained as their part of the reservation.

Conditions among the Indians of this region vary considerably on different reservations. Most of the land they occupy is rocky and mountainous, poor farming country, but good for stock-raising. In general, the Indians are backward and unprogressive, clinging tenaciously to their old customs. Marriage, for the most part, is by Indian custom; the percentage of illiteracy is high, reaching 90 per cent. on one reservation; tuberculosis and trachoma are prevalent, and on one reservation the tepee persists as the usual dwelling. Peyote creates a special problem on two, at any rate, of the reservations, and on one immorality and venereal diseases are prevalent. On two reservations no missionary effort what-

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ever is attempted, while most of the scattered bands of Indians in Utah have fallen under the influence of the Latter Day Saints and are more or less of the Mormon persuasion.

The various groups of Indians are distributed among five reservations in the two states, while a few are also scattered about at half a dozen points in the vicinity of Santa Clara, Utah. They number in all 2,344. They may most conveniently be considered under the heads of the various reservations.

UINTAH AND OURAY RESERVATION

Situated 6,000 feet above sea level, in Uintah Basin, and surrounded by the mountains of the same name, this reservation contains an area of 361,287 acres of hills, valleys and bench-land, of which 111,947 acres have been allotted. The reservation contains about one-half of the Indian population of the region, or 1,127, distributed among three tribes, viz., White River, 257; Uintah, 449; Uncompahgre, 421. All are citizens, though all but fifteen are still restricted. Since 1910 there has been a decrease of 11 per cent. in the population, mainly as a result of influenza epidemics.

The undeveloped minerals of the reservation include coal, asphalt, copper, phosphate, oil and gas, and there are 15,500 feet of standing timber. Stock-raising is the chief source of income, the Indians owning 5,073 head of cattle, 1,588 sheep, 1,300 horses, 62 swine, and 1,813 head of poultry. Alfalfa, wheat, oats and barley are raised where irrigation is practiced, and the Government gives every encouragement to the Indians to farm their own lands. Six hundred farms are leased either wholly or in part. Each Indian receives an annuity of \$100 from the Ute Judgment Fund of \$3,000,000. Poverty is not a serious factor. Rations are given monthly to 450 disabled persons.

Backward as these Indians are in many ways, there has been a considerable improvement in housing conditions during the past few years, about two-thirds of the families now occupying good houses, while the position of the women has

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correspondingly improved. Nevertheless, 90 per cent. of the marriages are still by Indian custom, and the influence of the old superstition remains strong, affecting from 75 to 80 per cent. of the people. Indian dances are held twice a year, the Bear Dance in March and the Harvest Dance in July. The former is of a demoralizing character; the latter, which is more or less religious in character, is rapidly becoming commercialized and admission is charged.

Though the situation in regard to alcohol is satisfactory, the use of peyote presents a serious problem. A craze for this drug seems to have grown up during recent years, particularly among the Uncompahgres, among whom it is estimated that there are 100 adherents of the cult. The other two tribes, however, oppose it, and the State law prohibiting the importation of the drug is having its effect. Gambling is also an outstanding evil, 75 per cent. of the men and 50 per cent. of the women being addicted to it. Illiteracy is estimated at 75 per cent. Tuberculosis and trachoma affect 10 and 20 per cent. respectively of the population.

To bring light and progress into the lives of these Indians there are two agencies only—the Uintah Government boarding school and the Protestant Episcopal Church, which has two mission stations, one at Randlett and the other at Whiterocks. The school was established in 1890 and carries the first five grades. Its teaching and employed staff numbers ten, and the enrollment is ninety-seven—forty-nine boys and forty-eight girls, seventy-nine of whom give the Protestant Episcopal Church as their religious affiliation. Week-day religious instruction is given and there is an organized Sunday school of six classes. There are also a Girls' Friendly Society and a Boys' Club in connection with the school.

The only and obvious criticism of the school is that there is not enough of it. There are 164 children of school age on the reservation who are without adequate school facilities. Since the public schools are too remote for the Indians to attend, the solution of the problem would seem to be the enlargement of the present boarding school and the building of others.

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The Protestant Episcopal Church has this field to itself. At Randlett, where the church was organized in 1898, the membership numbers 154, of whom twenty-three are whites. At Fort Duchesne and Whiterocks there are twenty and seventy members respectively. Services and average attendance are as follows: Randlett, every Sunday morning, attendance, 27; Whiterocks, three Sunday evenings a month, attendance, 65; Ft. Duchesne Agency, one Sunday a month, attendance, 30. The English language is used, occasionally being interpreted. Two missionary workers supply this field. The Sunday school has an enrollment of 150 and an average attendance of thirty-five. It is stated that the peyote cult has seriously interfered with the work of the Church, while 894 persons are included under "unreached groups," especially in the vicinity of Altonah, Myton, Ouray and Tabiona.

SHIVWITS RESERVATION

A band of 114 Paiutes lives on the 26,800 acres of this reservation, which were set aside in Washington County in 1891. Only a very little of the land is irrigated by the Santa Clara Creek, and the Indians are extremely poor, roaming over the county to find work cutting wood or in the beet fields. The Government provides a small day school, attended by twenty-five children. The Presbyterian chapel on the reservation has thirty-five members and is served twice a month by an itinerant missionary. The work on this field was started in 1895 and the church was organized the same year, the present building being put up in 1897.

GOSHUTE RESERVATION

In a remote section, forty-five miles from the railroad, located for the most part southwest of Great Salt Lake, are to be found seven small groups of Indians, the largest band numbering 152, known as the Goshutes. They number in all 328, and 34,500 acres were set aside for them in 1914. Many of them are industrious, maintaining themselves by herding

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stock and seasonal labor for settlers. A day school, with an enrollment of thirty, is maintained by the Government. Religiously, practically all have come under the influence of the Mormons.

UTE MOUNTAIN RESERVATION

The 511,465 acres of unallotted land, much broken with high mountains and deep, rocky canyons, which make up this reservation, are situated in Montezuma and San Juan counties, New Mexico and Colorado. The Indian inhabitants, who have intermarried to some extent with the Navajos, number 456, the population showing a decrease since 1910 due to tuberculosis and other diseases. The reservation is mainly a grazing country, best adapted for raising sheep, of which the Indians possess 3,000 head, although coal and sandstone deposits are found, and there has lately been some drilling for ore, while efforts are also being made to provide water so that a few plots of ground can be cultivated. Besides their sheep, the Indians own 200 head of cattle and 500 horses.

Isolated from the world, with only thirty-six miles of road on the whole reservation, the Indians are not unnaturally backward and unprogressive. Old Indian practices prevail. The majority live in tepees, the reservation boasting only two permanent houses, while family life remains unchanged and 90 per cent. of the marriages are by Indian custom. In the past tuberculosis has taken heavy toll of the Indians, but this situation is improving under the ministrations of a Government physician and a field matron. Immorality, however, and its concomitant, venereal disease, are prevalent. Alcohol is not used, but gambling affects 50 per cent. of the men and women. Four Indian dances are held, two in spring and two in summer.

Until recently there were no schools on this reservation, with the result that the old superstitions are firmly entrenched and that 90 per cent. of the Indians are illiterate. On January 1st, 1921, the Ute Mountain reservation boarding school was opened, carrying the primary grades only, with an employed staff of eight. Forty-one children (Utes and Navajos) are

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enrolled, none of whom could speak English at the time this survey was made (July, 1921). A Sunday school has been organized under the auspices of the school authorities.¹

SOUTHERN UTES

Situated in La Plata and Archuleta counties, Colorado, in a mountainous region, this reservation includes 7,281 acres allotted and 483,750 acres unallotted, while 523,079 acres were thrown open to settlement in 1899. The principal commercial center is Ignacio, Colorado. The population is 329, all citizens, 115 of whom have individual allotments. The Indians own 500 head of cattle, 510 horses, 500 sheep, 520 goats, 200 swine and 650 head of poultry. There is no destitution, but seventy old or sick persons receive rations once a month.

Ten years ago the Southern Utes were considered among the most intractable Indians in the entire United States. They were the despair of Government agents. To-day all that has changed. Through the effective work of the superintendent these people have bent their efforts toward improving their homes, irrigating their lands, raising fine horses, in fact, have taken a new interest in life. The Indians also share in the recreational life of the near-by villages and of the two towns of some commercial importance, Ignacio and Durango.

There is one Government day school on the reservation, with an average attendance of seventeen, and ten children attend public schools.²

¹ At the present time (1922) the Presbyterian pastor at Cortez preaches at Towao on alternating Sundays and also assists in the Sunday school. Here is a wide open field for missionary effort. Towao, the seat of one of the most modern school plants in the Government service, with a capacity for 150 pupils, furnishes the natural center.

² In 1917 the Presbyterians sent a missionary to evangelize the Indians of Southwestern Colorado, to be stationed among the Utes. The work was carried on for three years. During 1921, owing to retrenchment in mission funds, the field was unmanned. The pastor at Cortez divides his time between this reservation and that at Ute Mountain. The Roman Catholic Church at Ignacio is attended by a few Indians. These people are now ready for an aggressive Christian program with a full-time missionary in charge.

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II: *Indians of Nevada*

RESERVATION INDIANS

The experiences of the Indians of Nevada in their dealings with the United States Government have been much the same as those described in the next chapter, dealing with the Californian Indians.³ The majority of them were "left out" when permanent reservations were allocated to certain tribes, and those who received most consideration were those who gave the Government most trouble. The Indians of this more fortunate class, belonging to Chemehuevi, Kaibab, Pawipit, Pite, Shivwit and western Shoshone groups, were settled in the years following 1873 upon six reservations, covering in all some 688,000 acres, of which 10,800 acres have been allotted. For the most part the reservations are mountainous, barren wastes, in two instances a mile above sea level, on which little land is available for agriculture, except when under irrigation. The names of the reservations,⁴ are: Duck Valley, Fort McDermott, Pyramid Lake, Fallon,⁵ Walker River, and Moapa River.

Two reservations, Walker River and Pyramid Lake, are entered by branch lines of railroads, while two others, Fort McDermott and Duck Valley, are more than ninety miles from the nearest railroad point, and on these two the roads are so bad that little produce can ever be marketed. On all six reservations there are only 194 miles of roads, giving an average of thirty-nine miles per reservation. The total population is 2,631, the largest number (804) being found on Walker River and the smallest (225) on Fort McDermott. The population has increased slightly on three reservations in the past ten years and decreased on one, remaining stationary on the other two. Only seven of the Indians are citizens. The white population on the reservations is 113.

Though these reservation Indians have been described above

³ See Ch. XIV, § I.

⁴ For individual reservation summaries see Appendix I, § IV.

⁵ Technically not a reservation but a superintendency enrolling 459 Indians.

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as belonging to the more fortunate class, they are fortunate only by comparison with the non-reservation groups who have nothing at all. The reservation Indians are, as a matter of fact, many of them in a state of abject poverty, and most of them living a hand-to-mouth existence. Some attempt is made to cultivate the land where irrigation, usually of a primitive type, exists; but even where this is the case the Indians are too often compelled by economic necessity to leave their half-grown crops and wander off to seek casual employment on distant ranches. Irrigation schemes along modern lines have been projected at Pyramid Lake and Fallon, and efforts are made to induce the Indians to cultivate their lands, but the difficulty seems to be that they have no means of acquiring the necessary farm equipment.

There is some grazing land on the reservations, the cattle numbering 4,152 and the horses, 3,710, and alfalfa hay is raised on three reservations. Where lakes are found the men do a little fishing in the winter, and also work at wood-cutting, while 195 women are engaged in basket-making. The principal industry, however, is casual labor on the ranches, 828 finding work of this kind. Poverty is an ever-present factor, and on Fort McDermott affects practically the entire population. Rations are given on four reservations to 134 persons. The Indians suffer a good deal from commercial exploitation, especially on Pyramid Lake.

Housing conditions on the Nevada reservations, which, in the past, were wretched beyond description, have improved considerably in the last few years. Although there are still 141 one-room houses and a number of Indians living in tents (twenty-seven families at Fort McDermott live thus all the year round), a good many neat cottages have been put up in recent years. Similarly, family relations have shown considerable improvement of late. On Fort McDermott 95 per cent. of the marriages are still by Indian custom, but on the other reservations marriage is uniformly by State law. Intermarriage among the different tribes is frequent. Except on two reservations, tuberculosis and trachoma constitute no menace. There is a Government hospital on one reservation,

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and doctors are within reach on at least three of the others. On one, however, the doctor is so inaccessible that the local medicine man enjoys a flourishing practice.⁶

If there is an absence of social cliques among these Indians, there is also, on account of the scattering of the population to seek employment away from home, an almost total absence of social activities. To the same cause—the amount of time spent away from home—may also be attributed the fact that the women share with the men the craze for gambling, which is the outstanding vice of the community. Since gambling is permitted by Nevada State law, moral suasion is the only influence that can be opposed to it, although on one reservation the Indian Council passed an ineffective ordinance to punish the practice. The consequence is that the vice affects a large percentage of both men and women.⁷

Liquor has ceased to constitute the problem that it formerly did, but on one reservation its place is taken by the use of yenshee, a drug combining opium derivatives. The situation in regard to prostitution is far from satisfactory, particularly on two reservations.

The old Indian superstition has a firm hold on all the Nevada reservations, influencing from 90 to 100 per cent. on Walker River, Duck Valley and Fort McDermott. The pagan Indians on these three reservations are quite unreached. The regular Indian dances occur on only one of the reservations, but on two others the so-called "Harvest dances" are held annually.

Educational facilities on these reservations, which have 50 per cent. illiteracy, are provided by ten Government day schools.⁸ Only eighty-five children are listed as being with-

⁶ That the health situation needs attention is evidenced from the following action taken by the Sacramento Survey Conference, March, 1922:

"We recommend that the Government make a large increase in the number of visiting nurses in Nevada and California. We especially mention the needs of the following reservations: Walker River, Pyramid Lake, Fort McDermott, Fort Bidwell, Duck Valley."

⁷ There are also some peyote users. State law prohibits its importation and use, but reservation Indians can use it on Federal land.

⁸ The Carson Indian School, being of a non-reservation type, is considered in Appendix II.

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out educational facilities. With the addition of two day schools on the Duck Valley reservation the situation would be well in hand. There are three schools on the Duck Valley reservation, two on Pyramid Lake, two on Fallon, one on Walker River and one on Fort McDermott. Only the first three grades are carried. The total enrollment is 214. The religious affiliation of pupils is given as follows: Baptist, 27; Methodist Episcopal, 16; Presbyterian, 72; Protestant Episcopal, 42; Unattached, 57. Five of these schools have no religious contacts. Three are situated near missions where some religious oversight is exercised.

Four denominations are at work in this field, with three organized churches, all the missions having been established since 1895,⁹ when the Episcopalians settled at Pyramid Lake. The other churches are: Methodist Episcopal at Walker River, Baptist at Fallon and Presbyterian at Duck Valley.^{9a} The three church buildings are valued at \$12,500. One additional building is used for community purposes. Home mission aid is received to the extent of \$3,540 annually, and there are no prospects of self-support. The total annual receipts amount to \$5,522.98. There are six missionaries, three men and three women. The total membership¹⁰ is 140, an average of forty-seven per congregation. Two hundred adherents, however, are claimed for the Methodist mission at Walker River. The total net gain in membership for the last fiscal year was sixty-two. Parish lines, as on many other western reservations, are identical with reservation lines.

Each church has a Sunday school, the average enrollment being forty-nine, and there are two women's organizations

⁹ The first Protestant Episcopal missionary came to Nevada in 1862 and was murdered near Camp McCrary during the régime of Chief Winnemucca, whose son is now studying for the ministry in the Episcopal Church.

^{9a} The Episcopalians also have work at Moapa River with church building already under way. The Roman Catholics have a church at Yerington.

¹⁰ Here, as in many other fields, the membership *per se* is no index of the influence of the missionary work. For instance, at Pyramid Lake there are 275 under the influence of the Episcopal Church, of whom 100 are confirmed. It is true also that the missions reach a great many not living on the reservations.

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and a Christian Endeavor in connection with the missions. Services are held every Sunday. Only one church has an evening service, and two have the usual mid-week service. English is used entirely in three churches. In the fourth an interpreter is used on occasion for the benefit of the old people.

NON-RESERVATION INDIANS

Drifting about from pillar to post, living in ramshackle structures on ash piles and in back alleys, the Indians of Nevada who failed to assert their rights by making trouble for the Government have shared the fate of their fellows in California.¹¹ There are some 3,000 of these "left-overs" who were not allocated to definite reservations, most of them being now under the tutelage of the consolidated Agency at Reno. Despised and victimized by their white neighbors, degraded in morals, their lot, until recently, has been as pitiable as it was possible to imagine.

Hope came to them some four or five years ago with the colonization scheme inaugurated by the Indian Bureau. By this scheme, instead of the Indians being apportioned, as in California, to Government-owned rancherias, in places where it was impossible to maintain themselves, efforts have been made to obtain for them home sites with favorable environment. Successful colonies have now been established, at comparatively little cost, at Reno, Sparks, Yerington, Lovelock and Carson, while others are in the making at Battle Mountain, Winnemucca, and Elko. These colonies provide a permanent place of refuge for Indians working at near-by towns or ranches, satisfy their gregarious instincts, and foster a community life and the pride of ownership. The scheme promises well for the development of habits of thrift and industry among the Indians and the consequent diminution of the prejudice now existing against them in the State of Nevada. With better standards of living among the Indians the time should soon come when their children will be able,

¹¹ See Ch. XIV, § I, Non-Reservation Indians.

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in fact as well as in theory, to take their places alongside of the white children in the public schools.

The Episcopalians and the Baptists are the denominations which have given most attention to the religious and moral needs of these non-reservation Indians. Nevertheless, there are many groups which have little or no religious oversight. The distribution of these is roughly as follows: Carson Valley, 300; Gardnerville, a few;¹² Lovelock, 110; Winnemucca, 150; Battle Mountain, 125;¹³ Elko, 150; Ely, 150; vicinity of Austin, 250.

The colonization scheme, from which great things may be hoped, is still in process of development; but in the buildings for community purposes which are to be erected or are in contemplation at most of these points, the scheme offers an admirable opportunity for coöperation on the part of the churches. These buildings will be available for religious services. All that is required is the allocation of responsibility and a definite community program radiating from these centers, and emphasizing religious education, health and recreation. Since the Baptists and Episcopalians have already undertaken work in this field, it would seem the part of wisdom for these two denominations to agree upon specific spheres of influence, as has been done with apparent success under the so-called "zoning system" in Montana.¹⁴

The religious program should include a carefully thought-out plan of "follow-up" work, whereby church agencies could keep in touch with these Indians who, even under the colonization scheme, are compelled to absent themselves from their communities for longer or shorter periods in the pursuit of a

¹² With a view to meeting the needs of the dependent Indian children near this place the Sacramento Conference passed the following:

"We urge the American Baptist Home Missionary Society to undertake a plan at Gardnerville for the care of dependent Indian children among the non-reservation Indians uncared for at present in the State of Nevada."

¹³ Since this survey was made the Baptists have taken up work at Battle Mountain.

¹⁴ At the Wallace Lodge Conference the Baptists accepted responsibility for non-reservation groups near Fallon, Reno, Sparks and vicinity. Recently a Baptist church has been organized at Reno with thirty-one members.

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livelihood. The way has already been shown by the Indian Bureau, which maintains an "Outing Matron" in Oakland charged with the duty of looking after Indian girls who go to that city to work. This matron helps to obtain places for them, principally as domestics, meets them at the railroad station on their arrival, and finds them a place to live until placed. One-half of the earnings of these girls is sent to the reservation superintendent and placed to their credit against call on the recommendation of the Outing Matron. Some such scheme, with necessary adaptations and modifications, might well be adopted in connection with a program of follow-up work.

Side by side with the missionary effort, it would be desirable to launch a state-wide campaign of enlightenment in regard to the social, moral and religious problems of the Nevada Indian. An attempt to start such a movement was made some years ago with the Nevada Indian Association, but this organization made no great headway and is at present more or less moribund. If new life could be infused into the Association, it might be of the utmost value in preparing the Indians for the responsibilities of citizenship by an up-to-date program of Americanization, and at the same time in inducing a more sympathetic attitude of mind toward the Indian on the part of the white population of the State.

III: *Indians of Wyoming*

SHOSHONIS AND ARAPAHOS

Encountered by Lewis and Clark in 1805, at the headwaters of the Missouri in western Montana, the Shoshoni Indians are among the few tribes of the United States that have managed to cling to part of their old habitat. Their ancient stronghold was along the Snake River in Idaho, but their raiding expeditions carried them as far as the Columbia. The Wyoming bands were mighty hunters of buffalo, and today their ancestral characteristics differentiate them strongly from their old enemies and present reservation fellows, the

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Arapahos. Children of the latter, a teacher declares, can acquire mathematics with the same facility as white children, whereas the Shoshonis can with difficulty arrive at a mastery of long division. On the other hand, a Shoshoni boy can catch a rabbit with his bare hands, while an Arapaho can hardly catch one in a snare.

To-day the two tribes live peaceably together on the Wind River reservation, in Fremont County, to which the Arapaho band was assigned in 1876, the Shoshoni having preceded them there by the treaty of 1868. Nevertheless, the two tribes neither intermarry nor mix socially, holding themselves proudly aloof both from each other and from their white neighbors.

The Shoshonis, formerly known as Washakie's band, from the name of their great chief, number 861, and the Arapahos, 851. There are also about 2,000 white people scattered over leased lands on the reservation. The area of the reservation is 789,069 acres, of which 211,040 are allotted. The Indian population has remained stationary for some years.

The Shoshonis are a good deal more prosperous than their neighbors on account of the income they derive from oil and gas leases. The Arapahos are poor, despite the fact that they possess farms which a few of them cultivate. Besides oil and gas, the natural resources of the reservation include sand, building stone and timber, while in addition to a tribal herd of cattle, numbering 6,846 head, the Indians own personally 5,000 head of cattle and 2,600 horses, besides a few sheep, hogs and poultry. Farming is carried on where irrigation makes it possible, but in general there is no great enthusiasm for work among these Indians, and 313 of them have leased their farms. Seventy-six persons received rations from the Government last year.

Socially as well as economically the Shoshonis are more advanced than the Arapahos, mainly because the latter are allowed to live in large camps with little incentive to work. Ninety per cent. of the marriages are by State law, and family relations and the position of women show signs of improvement, though divorce is fairly frequent. Mainly on account

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of the Indians' indifference to the white man's medicine, health conditions are not so good as they might be, 25 per cent. of the people being tubercular and 30 per cent. affected by trachoma. A Government hospital and physician are available, but no field matron.

Although means of communication are good (230 miles of road), there is little in the way of community activities or social organizations. The peyote cult, gambling and, to some extent, the old Indian dances supply the place of these. The first named is extremely prevalent, affecting 90 per cent. of both tribes. This is the only reservation in the United States where the use of peyote seems to have the tacit sanction of Government officials and missionaries alike.

Since 1872, when work was started among the Shoshonis, the religious oversight of the Wind River reservation has been mainly in the hands of the Episcopalians.¹⁵ The work was extended to the Arapahos in 1885. In 1914 the Presbyterians also entered the field, establishing a mission among the Arapahos twenty miles from Wind River and twelve from St. Michael's.

The Presbyterian church, which is situated on leased land, is valued at \$4,000 and has a seating capacity of 175. Its membership is thirty-one and the average attendance at the Sunday school is twenty. There are two Sunday services, with average attendance of fifteen and twenty respectively, an interpreter being used. The entire support of the church comes from home mission aid.

The future of this mission cannot be regarded as particularly promising, and since there is overlapping of the Episcopal and Presbyterian fields it would seem advisable that the situation should be carefully considered with a view to coördinating the efforts of the two denominations.

The Shoshoni Episcopal church and mission school are closely associated, the school, of sixteen girls, which was started in 1883, and carries the first four grades, being unique in that

¹⁵ The Jesuit order conducts St. Stephen's Mission on the Wind River, where the number of Catholic Indians is reported as 565. There is also a contract school with an enrollment of 105.

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it is more like a large family in the missionary's home than an ordinary boarding school, with all the life and activities that should be found in a normal Christian family. The missionary has been in the field for thirty-eight years and is greatly respected by all.

The total value of the church, parsonage, land and other buildings of this mission is \$18,200, and financial support is furnished entirely by the home mission board. Four hundred and fifty names are on the church roll, and 100 on the confirmation list. Two Sunday services are held, with an average attendance of twenty-five. The parish extends forty-five miles north from the mission, ten south, four east and eight west, with an Indian population of 650, of whom 200 are not church members. Sunday school is held for the girls at the missionary's house, but there is none for children from the outside, nor are there any young people's organizations in connection with the church.

The other Episcopal mission, St. Michael's, among the Arapahos, is of special interest as being well-equipped for its present purposes, and also as having an ambitious program for the future. St. Michael's Arapaho Mission School, established in 1917, is carried on in connection with the mission, and the total value of lands and buildings is estimated at \$200,000, while a grant of \$32,000 is received annually from the board of home missions for the upkeep of school and mission. The school, which has an enrollment of sixty-two,¹⁶ carries the first eight grades and includes agricultural and domestic science courses. The school buildings are in a circle, the girls living in groups of twelve under a house matron in whom all authority is vested, while the boys live in dormitories, thirty-five to each, and have a form of limited self-government which seems to work successfully. Religious instruction is part of the curriculum, and the general standard of teaching is high.

This school is part of a new and interesting experiment in missionary work among the Indians. The whole plan em-

¹⁶ Some of these pupils are under contract arrangement and hence the school is known in official Government reports as a contract mission boarding school.



HORSE RACING
Western Shoshone Reservation



THE FAMILY BAROUCHE
A Flathead Family in Montana

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braces an industrial village in connection with the mission, where the Indians would carry on their old native industries and more modern industries would be taught. The general idea underlying the scheme is to adapt to Christian uses that which is best in the old Indian life. Thus the old Indian dances and ceremonies are not discouraged,^{16a} while the Bishop of Wyoming, in whose diocese the mission is, has tried to induce the pagan Indians to deposit their "sacred pipe," which is guarded by a high priest of the old worship, under the altar of the mission church and has offered to create a perpetual diaconate for its guardianship. This novel experiment in Indian missions, recalling, as it does, the historic policy of the early Church, is being watched with keen interest.

The St. Michael's mission shares with many missions in the Indian country a perhaps inevitable weakness. At these missions the Indians receive everything and give nothing in return. Consequently, they are almost wholly dependent upon home mission aid, the church memberships contributing little either to the support of their own churches or to benevolences. Similarly, at St. Michael's school no tuition is charged, nor do the parents feel any obligation to contribute either to school or to mission. The children, on the other hand, receive spending money from the agency when there is any to their credit.

The membership of St. Michael's mission church is 400, but no records of membership by age and sex are given. The confirmation list numbers 125 and shows a net gain of fourteen last year. There is one service each Sunday with an average attendance of twenty, preaching being in the native tongue. A Sunday school is held for the benefit of the pupils at the mission school, but so far no community program has been put into practice for extending the church work to reach

^{16a} It would perhaps be more accurate to say that they are neither encouraged nor discouraged. In point of fact, since the Indians have seen that there is no disposition on the part of the missionary to interdict such ceremonies none have been held. The policy of the mission is to aid the Indians in making sound decisions for themselves. The success of this policy was illustrated recently when the Indians themselves, after due examination, rejected a proposal to start a peyote church.

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those outside of the school, a type of extension work which would add further value to this splendid missionary enterprise.

In addition to the mission schools already mentioned, there are a Government boarding school and nine public day schools, making the educational facilities on the Wind River reservation entirely adequate. The Government boarding school at Fort Washakie, which was opened in 1883, carries the first six grades and has an enrollment of seventy-three. Religious services are held on Sunday evenings by the Episcopal missionary, and there is a Sunday school under Government auspices.

IV: *Indians of Montana*

CROWS

One of the largest unopened reservations in the United States is the home of 1,786 Crow Indians, whose horses and cattle to-day graze over the very ground where their ancestors, as scouts for Custer's expedition, saw the famous "last stand" in 1876. Belonging to the Hidatsa group of Siouan stock, the Crow Indians made their first treaty with the United States Government in 1825. In 1868 and the years following, various treaties and agreements were made which finally led to the setting aside of the 2,313,213 acres in Big Horn county which they at present occupy and of which only 482,585 acres are allotted.

It is estimated that there are more white people (some 2,000) than Indians living on the reservation lands, and the presence of these and the fact that for years past they have been in the habit of leasing vast tracts of grazing lands from the Indians constituted a problem which called for investigation by the Indian Rights Association. Through the intervention of this body the grosser forms of spoliation of the red man by the white have been checked.

All of the Indians, of whom only 187 are citizens, have

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allotments, and the huge unallotted area is held tribally.¹⁷ There are five postoffices on the reservation, and the Burlington railroad enters it from the north, the towns of Crow Agency, Lodge Grass and Wyola being located on the railroad. Improved methods of sanitation and modern medicine have resulted in an increase in the Indian population during the past ten years.

Oil, coal in abundance, sand, building stone and timber constitute the principal natural resources of this great area of mountainous country and broad valleys. There is a certain amount of farming and 153,307 acres can be irrigated. An ambitious farming project, recently initiated by the Montana Farming Corporation and involving some 75,000 acres, has been hindered by crop failures, and no estimate of its results can as yet be made. The principal industry is, however, the raising of horses and cattle. Besides the tribal herd of 1,000 cattle, the Indians possess 7,000 head of cattle, 4,500 horses, 125 swine and 1,000 head of poultry. Poverty on the reservation is negligible.

The family and social life of the Indians is not very different from that of their white neighbors, among whom little racial prejudice is found, except here and there an objection to Indian children attending the public schools. On the other hand, more intermarriage between whites and Indians is found here than in most western tribes. Among the Indians themselves marriage is uniformly by State law and family relations show steady improvement. Unhappily the civilized institution of divorce has also found favor, and eighteen divorces were reported in the twelve-month period preceding the survey. Housing conditions are generally good, comfortable log or frame dwellings being the rule. Tuberculosis is almost negligible and trachoma affects only 15 per cent. of the population. There is a Government hospital and a Government physician and three field matrons are available.

Drunkennes, which used to be almost epidemic, has been all

¹⁷ There is a bill now before Congress aiming to secure allotments for the Indians with a view also to safeguarding their interests.

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but stamped out since prohibition. Gambling is, however, very prevalent, and though commercial prostitution is unknown there is a certain amount of immorality. The peyote cult claims some seventy-five adherents, who meet every week, but the drug is not making great headway as the chief of the tribe, Plenty Coups, is strongly opposed to it. The Indian dances figure prominently in the lives of the people, but they are becoming commercialized. The "Big Stampede" is an annual feature and is encouraged by adjacent towns on account of pecuniary benefits accruing from tourists visiting Yellowstone Park. Superstition still has a firm hold, but principally among the older people. The young people will have none of it, and the influence of the medicine man is gradually yielding ground to knowledge of the benefits of modern medicine.

The Roman Catholics were the pioneers of missionary work among the Crows, coming to the reservation in 1883. Their main mission is at St. Xavier, and there are chapels, in which services are held once a month, at Crow Agency, Pryor and Upper Lodge Grass. Of the two boarding schools which they established in connection with their work at St. Xavier and Pryor, the former now has an enrollment of seventy-nine while the latter was turned over to the Government in 1902. A day school, known as St. Anne's, has an enrollment of eighteen. Ten years ago the number of adherents was put at 900. Since that time the Catholics seem to have been losing ground on this reservation.

The first Protestant mission was established by the Congregationalists in 1891. Starting with religious instruction at the Government boarding schools, they later established mission day schools at Black Lodge and Reno and a mission station at Crow Agency. In 1903 the Baptists entered the field, establishing mission day schools at Wyola, Upper Big Horn, Pryor and Lodge Grass, and organizing their church in 1905.

The situation in this field as between these two denominations, which might have degenerated into an unfortunate case of overlapping, has developed into a shining example of de-

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nominal comity and coöperation. After negotiations conducted through the Home Missions Council, the American Missionary Association (Congregational) in 1920 decided to turn over its entire work in the field to the Baptists, and the agreement thus happily reached was consummated on Easter Sunday, 1921. The Baptists are now the only Protestant force in the field, with seven stations and two mission day schools.¹⁸ Of the seven stations six are organized churches and five have their own buildings.

The missionary effort of these stations may be briefly summarized as follows:

Value of land and buildings, \$21,700. Total seating capacity, 485. Receipts for year, \$7,390.83, of which nearly \$3,000 was from collections and subscriptions, and balance from home missions. Membership for four churches, 285 (returns not available for the other two on account of the recent denominational change). Total net gain for year, 63. Services every Sunday, and at two churches twice every Sunday. One mid-week service. Sunday school enrollment, 351. One Y. M. C. A. and four women's organizations, with membership of 140. Personnel consists of three pastors, serving eight points, and six women workers employed as teachers in day schools and as field matrons.

From the above summary it is evident that there is justification for the hopeful view of the future of this field taken by the missionaries themselves. They suggest as a desirable program for the future: (1) the development of a native ministry, with ultimately a native minister in charge of each church; (2) development of self-support toward which three of the churches in particular have already made promising progress; (3) a social and community program, with young women workers in each field.

The day schools in connection with these missions have done a valuable and efficient work not only in education but in fostering a wholesome spirit. Their success is largely, if indirectly, responsible for the legislation recently passed. In September, 1921, Crow Indian children became eligible for

¹⁸ The other mission schools were closed, 1921, with the introduction of the public school system on the reservation.

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attendance at the public schools in the State of Montana, a progressive measure which will mean a radical change in reservation conditions and a real opportunity for educational development.¹⁹

NORTHERN CHEYENNE

The Northern Cheyennes are among the Indians who have suffered in the past from the paternal attentions of the Government. Known as "Plains" or "Buffalo hunting" Indians, the Cheyennes were divided into northern and southern bands. In 1876 the Government stretched forth its hand and ungently led them to Oklahoma, where they were settled on a reservation near Fort Reno. The northern band, unaccustomed to the climate, wasted by fevers and ill-treatment, two years later started to return to their northern home without obtaining leave of absence. Brought to bay near Camp Robinson, Nebraska, they suffered heavy losses, and for years they continued in a state of unrest. Finally, in 1900, a reservation was formally established for them.

Here, in an area of 489,500 acres of rough, hilly country, with small, narrow valleys, a little to the east of the Crow Indian reservation, live 1,414 Cheyennes, the survivors of the disastrous experiment of settling a northern race in a southern climate. The population has shown a slight increase in the nineteen years since they have lived at peace on their new reservation, despite a severe epidemic of influenza. None of these Cheyennes are citizens, nor is any of the land allotted.

The abundant grazing lands of the reservation, which it is estimated could support 25,000 head of cattle, make stock-raising the principal source of income for the Indians. They own 5,500 head of cattle, 4,500 horses, a few swine and some poultry. The natural resources of the reservation include abundance of soft coal of rather poor quality, a little

¹⁹ The report brought to the Billings (Mont.) Survey Conference, April, 1922, showed that there are now 29 public schools on the reservation where Indian pupils are enrolled. Unbiased opinions on the part of teachers seem to be that these pupils compare very creditably with their white classmates in scholarship and deportment.

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building stone, and 70,000 acres of timber. At present one sawmill, not yet properly equipped, is in operation. Farming, even without irrigation, is possible on some parts of the reservation, and about 250 Indians are cultivating some 5,000 acres of land, of which only about 700 acres are irrigated. Nevertheless, three-fourths of the Indians are desperately poor, rations are given monthly to 988, and the missionaries help to alleviate the general poverty by distributing clothing.

Domestic relations are gradually improving among these people, legal marriages having recently become more general though these are usually preceded by the tribal ceremony. Divorce is rare. Housing conditions show marked improvement during the past ten years, although approximately one-half the families live in one-room houses. Provision is made for two Government physicians and three field matrons, but usually only one of these positions is filled. The present emergency hospital has two rooms only, and a real hospital is urgently needed. Owing partly to lack of confidence in the white man in general and partly to the influence of the medicine man, the Indians do not coöperate readily with the available medical agencies. The Medicine Lodge and the peyote cult are well defined, and the mistrust which past experience has taught the Cheyennes to have for the white man causes some race prejudice between whites and Indians.

It is estimated that two-thirds of these Indians are under the influence of the old superstitions and one-fourth of the tribe, including a majority of the younger Indians, is addicted to the peyote cult. Indian dances are frequent, and immorality is said to be practiced in connection with the Medicine Lodge. The use of alcohol is negligible, but men and women are inveterate gamblers. Cattle-stealing for food is among the principal crimes.

Educational facilities on the reservation are provided by one Government boarding school, two Government day schools, one Roman Catholic mission school and one public school. The Tongue River Boarding School, at Busby, carries the first four grades only and has an enrollment of fifty-three. Three of the children are Roman Catholic and fifty

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Mennonite. The general equipment is poor. Religious service and a Sunday school are conducted on Sunday by the Mennonite missionary, who also gives religious instruction every Monday. The Government day schools at Lame Deer and Birney carry the first three grades and have an enrollment of forty-two and thirty respectively. The Mennonite missionaries give religious instruction, and the pupils attend Sunday schools at near-by missions.

The Roman Catholics started work here before the reservation was definitely established and have continued it through the mission boarding school, conducted by Ursuline nuns, which was established as long ago as 1882 and at present has an average attendance of twenty-nine. They now have chapels at Ashland and Lame Deer and report 700 Catholic Indians in the tribe.

Protestant work is in charge of the Mennonites, who began their work among the southern Cheyennes in 1883 and extended it to the northern tribe in 1904. There are three organized churches, at Lame Deer, Birney and Ashland, and one station not organized. The four fields are in charge of three missionaries. Land and buildings are valued at \$18,300. Missionary support comes from the Foreign Board of the Mennonite Church, to the extent of \$5,500 annually. The total membership is 200, of which 129 are classed as active members. Meetings are held every Sunday, generally in the native tongue, in which the missionaries are proficient. Evangelistic meetings are held annually by Nez Perce evangelists. Each mission has a Sunday school, the total enrollment being 171 and the average attendance 141. Attention is also given to pupils in Government schools and to camp visitation. The missionaries regard the future of the field as hopeful.

FLATHEADS

According to the Flatheads themselves, the name by which they are generally known is a libel upon their common sense, for they assert that they have never as a tribe practiced the

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THE FLATHEAD RESERVATION

This reservation has the largest number of public schools open to Indian children of any reservation in the United States

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barbarous custom of head-binding, to which some of the tribes on the Pacific Coast were addicted. They call themselves "Salish," and have as their neighbors on their present reservation fragments of tribes which formerly belonged to the Flathead Confederation, the Kootenai and Pend d'Oreilles, as well as other Indian bands—Kalispel, Spokane, Nez Perces, Snake, Cayuse, Delaware and Sioux.

The Flatheads had come into contact with the Lewis and Clark expedition in Bitter Root Valley in 1805, and had been known to white explorers in the previous century, while there is a Roman Catholic tradition that a band of Iroquois from Canada, who had embraced Catholicism, settled among the Flatheads between 1812 and 1830 and taught them the rudiments of Christianity. However that may be, the Flatheads had to wait for definite knowledge of "the Great Spirit" until 1840, when the first Roman Catholic mission came among them. That mission stayed only ten years, abandoning the field in 1850, but a few years later the work was taken up again, and the Roman Catholics have been in charge of this field ever since.

The present reservation, consisting of 227,113 acres, all allotted, is situated in the western part of Montana at an elevation of 3,300 feet, and occupies parts of three counties, Missoula, Sanders and Flathead. The climate is healthy and means of communication are good. In addition to the Indian population of 2,526, of whom 573 are citizens, fully 4,000 whites live on the reservation, attracted thereto by the extensive lands in the neighborhood that at one time or another have been thrown open to settlement. On or near the reservation are a dozen towns, the principal ones being Hot Springs, St. Ignatius, Polson and Ronan.

The Indians are thus surrounded on all sides by white neighbors, and the contacts so established have profoundly modified social and economic conditions. To these contacts, indeed, the Roman Catholic missionaries attribute the low moral standards which prevail among many of the Indians. Prostitution, in certain parts, is rife, as many as eighteen public women being reported in one of the small towns.

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Family relations also are far from satisfactory. Bootlegging has for some years been a thriving industry and is given as the principal cause of serious crime on the reservation. A recent shake-up has, however, improved conditions in this respect. Gambling is also prevalent and is difficult to check, since it is fostered in the town sites where the Government superintendent has no jurisdiction.

Economically the Indians are well off. The reservation is rich in timber, the stumpage value being estimated at \$4,050,000; but their chief source of income, apart from the leasing of their allotments, comes from stock. Their animal resources in 1920 were given as 5,980 cattle, 3,000 horses, 3,020 sheep, 285 swine and 5,000 poultry. The leasing system, which a large number of the Indians prefer to the labors of dry farming necessary to the raising of stock, is admitted to be pernicious in its effects on Indian industry. Nevertheless the very agency that employs three Government officials on the Flathead reservation to teach the Indians the arts of agriculture and the virtues of thrift, also applies itself to the promotion and arrangement of virtually all the Indian leases.

A Government project, whose value to the Indian has yet to be demonstrated, is the ambitious irrigation scheme which was promoted some fourteen years ago, largely at the dictation of the Montana delegation to Congress. The scheme, when completed, is designed to irrigate some 150,000 acres of land and up to date has cost approximately \$3,000,000. At the present time some 84,000 acres are available for irrigation, and about 25,000 acres are actually under cultivation. It is significant, however, that of this land only 5,000 acres are cultivated by Indians, the remaining 20,000 acres being used by white people either by lease from the Indian owners or by purchase of "dead allotments." The "joker," so far as the Indian is concerned, lies in the fact that the project is "reimbursable," that is, the Government must be paid back so much per acre for the expense involved in the irrigation scheme. In view of the existing situation, it is hardly surprising, therefore, if many of the Indians are slightly confused in mind as to the issues involved and are inclined to protest that the bene-

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fits for which they must pay will accrue principally to the white settlers.

Persistent efforts by the Government to improve housing conditions have met with success in recent years, not more than thirty-five one-room houses being left on the reservation at the present time. Health has shown a corresponding improvement. There is a well-equipped and well-managed hospital under Roman Catholic auspices at St. Ignatius, where Indians and whites are treated, a fee being charged. There is also a Government physician, but no field matron.

Moving-pictures, pool-rooms and dance-halls are found in the villages, three of the pool-rooms being under Indian auspices. For a number of years, however, the recreational life of the Indians has expressed itself principally in fiestas promoted by the Roman Catholic Church. Indian dances are held twice annually, on the Fourth of July and on New Year's Day, while at the "Frontier Day celebrations" the dances are commercialized. The old-time superstitions are rapidly dying out, although they have a relatively strong hold on the full-blood Indians, who still observe the "death feast" in connection with their religious practices. These "full bloods" constitute, however, a minority of the tribe.

The simple, communistic life of the Flatheads has given way, as has been seen, to a scattered existence in the midst of white settlements. With the change the task of the Roman Catholic missionaries has been rendered more difficult and their influence has decreased. Formerly it was possible, with the large mission church at St. Ignatius as a center, to keep in close touch with the Indians. Now, even with the addition of two out-stations at Arlee and Polson, the problem is a difficult one. Government support was withdrawn from these schools in 1900, and forty-four public schools, twenty-six of which are open to Indians, have been established on the reservation. As a consequence the hold of the missionaries on the young people has been lessened.²⁰

²⁰ The mission boarding school at St. Ignatius has two branches, one for girls under the Ursuline nuns; the other for boys under the Jesuit Fathers. The enrollment for 1919-1920 was 124. The school of the sisters of Providence, which was burned in 1919, has not been replaced.

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This reservation is facing a difficult period of reconstruction, the outcome of which is not easy to foresee. One hopeful sign is the presence of the twenty-six public schools and the growing public opinion in favor of extending to Indian children equal educational facilities with the whites. Ten of the schools, it should be noted, give highschool instruction. The map on page 335 shows the location and distribution of the schools and shows also that in the towns where there are schools there are also Protestant churches. These towns are, in addition, the trading centers for the Indians. Here, it would seem, is an opportunity for the churches to formulate a definite and united program of approach to win these Indians to a vital church life. A definite allocation of responsibility could be made for each church by a community canvas.²¹

BLACKFEET

Situated in the northernmost county of Montana, well called Glacier since in winter the thermometer registers fifty to sixty degrees below zero for long periods together, this reservation covers 1,493,387 acres of mountainous, rolling country, interspersed with small valleys. On it live 3,007 Indians of the Blackfeet Confederacy. The Piegans, or "people having badly dressed robes," are numerically the largest of the three tribes represented, the other two being the Blackfeet and Bloods. A portion of the same tribe is under the Piegan Agency in Alberta, Canada. Two hundred and twenty of the Indians are citizens, and all but 604,188 acres are allotted. There are about 450 white people on the reservation, most of them living at Browning.

²¹ At the Billings Conference, heretofore referred to, the following action was taken: "In view of the white Protestant churches of various denominations scattered throughout the area commonly included under the Flathead reservation, voted that we recommend to the Home Missions Council of Montana careful oversight of the Indians in this region and earnest consideration of at least the following particulars: (a) the more intimate relation of the white Protestant Christians to the Christian welfare of these Indians; (b) the best methods of missionary service to them, including resident pastors or missionaries, and (c) the respective responsibilities of the various national home mission boards."

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Prospecting for oil is going forward on the reservation, but otherwise its natural resources are limited to the timber, which is valued at \$690,000 and which the Indians desire to hold tribally in order that fuel may be used in common. Cattle raising and small farming are the principal sources of income. During the past three years, however, drought has spoiled the crops and reduced the tribal herd of 1,888 cattle which was purchased a few years ago. The irrigable land, amounting to 112,000 acres, is mostly leased to white men at very low rentals, and is, indeed, of little use to the Indians on account of the expense involved in irrigation and the distances to be traveled to reach it. The adverse conditions of the past few years have made poverty almost universal, and during the past two winters rations were issued to practically all of the Blackfeet, a policy which, however necessary, has had the unfortunate effect of increasing their dependence upon the Indian Office.²²

Another unfortunate feature of the reservation is the exploitation to which the Indians are subject. A favorite practice is to make loans on lands, often of considerable value, for which the Indians obtain patents. Foreclosure follows, and the property falls into the hands of the loan sharks.

Family life among these Indians shows gradual improvement, and the marriage laws are generally observed. Housing conditions are unsatisfactory, 400 Indians living in one-room houses, and health conditions are correspondingly unfavorable. Ten per cent. of the population are affected by tuberculosis, 25 per cent. by trachoma. The Government hospital, with physician in charge, is not ideally located.

By way of amusement the Indians have five dance-halls, two moving-picture houses and three pool-rooms. Indian dances are also held twice a month, and help to keep alive the old superstitions. Twenty-five per cent. of the Indians are under the influence of the old religion. Crime has increased

²² The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported early in 1922 that \$25,000 had been appropriated for roads and bridges on the Blackfeet reservation whereby employment has been furnished to hundreds of Indians, thus serving to alleviate untoward economic conditions.

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during the past two or three lean years, and lawlessness is prevalent. Alcohol presents, however, no serious problem except in the neighborhood of Browning, where prostitution also is bad. Gambling is common among the men.

School facilities on the Blackfeet reservation are ample, consisting of one Government boarding school, two Government day schools, one mission boarding school and six public schools. The last are open to Indian children.

The Cutbank Government Boarding School at Browning has an average enrollment of 138 and carries the first six grades. The religious affiliations of the pupils are: Catholic, 118; Presbyterian, 14; Methodist, 6. Sunday services are conducted by Protestant and Catholic missionaries, but there is no Sunday school nor any week-day religious instruction. All the buildings are old and in poor condition. The two day schools at Heart Butte and Family have enrollments of forty-three and twenty-five respectively. Practically all the children are Roman Catholic. No religious instruction is given. The Roman Catholic mission boarding school, known as Holy Family, has an enrollment of 118. The largest of the public schools is in Browning, with an enrollment of 220 pupils, white and Indian in about equal proportions.

Browning is the location of the mission churches of both the Presbyterians and the Methodists, the two denominations which have work in this field. The Methodists established themselves three miles out of Browning on a 320-acre tract of land in 1893, but moved into Browning when the Presbyterians started their mission there in 1909.

Both churches have a mixed membership of Indians and whites, the Presbyterian in equal proportions, the Methodist with Indians forming two-thirds of the membership. The church roll of the former numbers 165, of the latter, 93. At the Presbyterian church there are morning and evening services every Sunday. The Methodist church has meetings monthly, while twice a month the missionary holds services at the Government boarding school, six miles distant. At both churches the services are in English. Each church has a Sunday school, the Presbyterian with an enrollment of sixty, the Methodist with forty.

Both these churches are endeavoring to reach whites and Indians, while neither is making any determined effort to

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reach all possible Indians. A division of labor would seem desirable. If one church would devote its attention mainly to the whites, of course continuing to welcome hospitably any Indians who cared to attend, while the other concentrated its efforts on enlarging the scope of its work so as to bring it within the reach of all the Indians, much good might result. The present program for religious education of the young is inadequate and more attention should be given to the Indian children in the Government schools.

At Browning also is a Roman Catholic mission, with a boarding school at Family and a chapel at Heart Butte. The priests also make regular visits to the Government boarding school. The mission is under the Jesuit Order. The Catholics have always had a firm hold on the Blackfeet Indians, reporting, in 1910, 2,150 adherents. Within recent years their work has remained stationary.

ROCKY BOY BAND

Remnants of four different tribes which had been roaming about Montana with no fixed habitation were gathered together in 1916 into a portion of the abandoned Fort Assiniboine Military Reserve. These 58,038 acres, all unallotted, of rocky, mountainous country, have been fenced off, and here, under charge of a Government farmer but with no formal agency as yet, live 136 Crees, 264 Cree-Chippewas, eleven Piegans and forty Chippewas—a total of 451. The reservation has no mineral wealth and no timber of marketable value. There is a little dry farming, but no irrigation. It is mainly a stock country and part of it has been leased for grazing. The Indians derive their principal income from raising draft horses, but their supply of stock is small, consisting of 281 horses, 125 poultry and only five head of cattle. The women, encouraged by the missionaries, do a little bead work. Poverty is omnipresent and all receive rations through the winter. Something might be done if the Indians could find means of obtaining farming implements and so settle down to a pastoral and agricultural life, but

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at the best their future on this rocky reservation seems anything but promising.

Physically these people are a good deal cleaner than most camp Indians, and in consequence are healthier, despite the fact that fifty-two of the houses are of the one-room variety. Not more than 12 per cent. are affected by tuberculosis or more than 6 per cent. by trachoma. A physician gives part time to his Indian patients, but he lives fifteen miles from the reservation and since he has no telephone is not exactly accessible in case of emergency. Morally there is room for improvement, but progress is noticeable. Fifty per cent. of the marriages are still by Indian custom. On the other hand, women are well treated, and the long years of contact with white people during the wandering life of these remnants has had its effect. Intermarriage between the tribes is common. In fact, most of the Rocky Boy Indians are of mixed blood. The Indian Council is of paramount influence in the community life, followed by the Indian Office and the mission. Only one old medicine man is left and only 25 per cent. of the people are influenced by the old Indian religion. There is no alcohol problem, but gambling is prevalent.

The educational needs of the reservation are cared for by one Government day school, opened in 1919, which carries the first three grades and has an enrollment of forty-three, the religious affiliations showing thirty-two Protestants and eleven Roman Catholics.²³

A mission was established among the Rocky Boy Indians by the National Indian Association in 1920, with a chapel and parsonage erected at a cost of \$2,000. There is, of course, no church organization at present. Services are held on Sunday with an average attendance of forty-five, an interpreter being used, and the church service is a combination of service and Sunday school. The pupils of the day school attend Sunday school at the mission. A boys' club has been started with a membership of ten. Much emphasis is placed

²³ Previous to their being settled on this reservation the Rocky Boy band had come into contact with Catholic missionaries, and occasional visits are still made by an itinerant priest.

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upon personal visitation and upon the work for young people and children. Three devoted mission workers, including a young woman field worker, are in charge, and the future of the field appears exceptionally bright.²⁴

FORT PECK RESERVATION

Since 1886 this reservation has been the home of Indians of two tribal groups, Assiniboinés and Sioux, the latter a loose designation which includes Brulé, Santee, Teton, Hunkpapa and Yanktonai. Allotments were given to the Indians in 1908, and in 1913, 1,225,849 acres of surplus land were thrown open for settlement. The reservation consists now of 855,674 acres of allotted land and 669,863 acres held in trust for the Indians by the Government. The nature of the land is varied, deep valleys alternating with level plateaus. The Great Northern Railroad runs through the reservation from east to west, and upon it are two sizable towns, Poplar and Wolf Point. The Indian population is 2,113, of whom 300 are citizens. As among most Indian tribes, the full-blood population is decreasing, the mixed blood gaining.

Thirty years ago, before the railroad was built, these Indians were known as the wildest and most pagan of all the Sioux tribes. Contact with the white man has produced a marked change in externals, but whether the Indian's essential qualities have been improved by the contact is open to doubt. He has adopted the white man's dress and the customs of a frontier civilization. He is enthusiastic in attendance at the moving-picture houses of Poplar and Wolf Point. He gambles in the pool-rooms of the railroad villages, and prostitution, though not as serious a problem here as on some western reservations, has nevertheless claimed a few of his

²⁴ At the Billings Survey Conference the following resolution was passed: "In recognition of the noble, heroic and conscientious work that the National Indian Association has done and is doing for the American Indians, we wish to express our appreciation and thanks. We heartily commend the spirit of coöperation manifested by this Association toward the various Protestant Churches and wish it Godspeed in the efficient work recently inaugurated for the Rocky Boy band of Montana Indians."

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womenfolk. Citizenship, unfortunately, among the few to whom it has been granted, does not always bring the sense of added responsibility which it should. Petty crimes and misdemeanors among non-citizen Indians are tried by the Indian court; but citizens are subject to the State courts, and these too often exhibit a hesitancy in taking up Indian cases. The consequence is that citizenship to the Indian too often means opportunity for license instead of a sense of responsibility. Altogether, it seems probable that the somewhat degraded morality of many of the Indians is owing as much to the influence of the railroad villages and the type of white civilization they exemplify as it is to the old Indian superstitions.

The latter, in their outward manifestations, are strongly intrenched. As the train passes through the reservation, the traveler may see from his coach the log or frame houses of the Indians, scattered here and there along the creek or river valleys, while every now and then his eye will be caught by the white building of a little church. But just as it has been said that wherever the traveler in rural England sights a church he may be sure of finding liquid refreshment at a "public house" just around the corner, so on this Indian reservation, wherever one of the white church buildings appears, there will usually be found in the immediate vicinity a low, round, roomy building, frequently painted blue, with a flag-pole standing near the door. If the day happens to be a Friday, the Stars and Stripes will be flying from the pole, and a group of tents, with horses, wagons and an occasional automobile will be gathered about the place. These buildings are the Indian dance-houses, each owned by a duly organized dance society, of which there are five on the reservation. The dance societies are usually extremely antagonistic to the Christian churches, the reason being, presumably, that the churches are equally antagonistic to them. At the present time it is probable that the dance has less of religion in it than it used to have, but competent observers seem to agree that it is sensual and demoralizing. In the case of one of these dances, known as the "Owl dance," a perverted ingenuity has contrived to

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combine the objectionable features of Indian and white dancing.

Economically the Fort Peck Indian is fairly prosperous. Where ill health is found, this is not due so much to poverty as to improper feeding and to dirt. A Government hospital and two physicians furnish all the medical attention that is needed, and tuberculosis affects only 5 per cent. of the population. Health conditions will improve still further as better housing conditions prevail. Sixty frame houses have been built within the past four years, but fifty families are still reported as housed in one-room shacks.

Here, as on the Flathead reservation, the Government has undertaken an ambitious irrigation project, which, when completed, will make available for cultivation 124,643 acres. According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 16,628 acres had been made irrigable by 1920, and of this land only 1,800 acres were cultivated by Indians. It is estimated that the total cost of this project will be \$5,000,000, or about \$40 per acre, and the question arises whether agricultural conditions on this reservation justify the huge expense involved. The Indian is by nature and temperament much better qualified to engage in small ranching than in farming by irrigation methods. Horse-raising is at present the chief source of income among these Indians, together with the raising of a few sheep, cattle and swine. One hundred and fifty allotments are leased in whole or in part. Of the land so far made irrigable, the Indians themselves, as has been seen, are cultivating less than one-eighth. The question should certainly be seriously considered whether the results in benefit to the *Indian* of this ambitious project are likely to be at all commensurate with the expense involved.

As regards number and location of schools the Indian children of this reservation are adequately provided for. There are five distinctively Indian schools, three Government and two mission, and in addition there are five town and village schools and a number of rural district schools open to Indian children. The equipment of the Government schools is, however, not up to standard. The buildings are in poor condition, and the

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course of study should be raised to a point higher than the mere teaching of the children to read and write.

The Government boarding school at Poplar carries the first six grades, has an enrollment of 114, and shows as the religious affiliations of pupils forty-five Presbyterians and sixty-nine Roman Catholics. Pupils are permitted to attend their respective churches at Poplar on Sundays and an hour is given to religious instruction on Thursdays. The two Government day schools, one near Culberson and the other southwest of Brockton, have a combined enrollment of forty-eight. The Mormon mission school, which was organized five years ago, has a total enrollment of thirty, religious affiliations showing twelve Presbyterian, eight Roman Catholic and ten Latter Day Saints. Religious instruction is given regularly by the Mormon teachers.²⁵

The Presbyterian mission school, established in 1893 and situated at Wolf Point, carries the first eight grades and has an enrollment of fifty-two—thirty Presbyterian, twenty-one Roman Catholic and one Mormon.²⁶ Religious instruction is part of the school curriculum and a well organized Sunday school of four classes meets every Sunday. This school has already made a name for itself, and its opportunity is great. Every effort should be made to strengthen its influence and efficiency by improved personnel and equipment,

It is evident from the foregoing analysis that Christian influences have not penetrated very far beneath the skins of the Indians of this reservation. Beneath the veneer of white civilization there still runs a strong vein of superstition, and the white influences that have affected them have not always been of the best. There are more unbaptized Indians here than on any other Sioux reservation, and hence a large part of the field may be classed as unreached. This is despite the facts that the Presbyterians have carried on work here for more than thirty years, having at the present time no less than five organized churches; that the Roman Catholics have carried on an aggressive work, having also five churches and out-stations, and that the Mormons also have a mission.

The relative failure of the Protestant work in this field both in regard to winning the unreached Indians and as com-

²⁵ This school was not in operation during 1921-22.

²⁶ Year, 1920-21.

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pared with the work of the Roman Catholics, who command the greater number of followers,²⁷ may perhaps be partially explained by the fact that the Presbyterians have no resident white missionary in the field. The Catholics, on the other hand, have two. The Mormon influence is slight, the church having only fifty members, and appears to be on the wane.

Of the five Presbyterian churches, four are served by native workers, and one is without a pastor. The total membership is 332, of whom 260 are classed as active members. All receive home mission aid. Four contribute to missions and benevolences. Preaching services, in the native language, are held Sunday mornings and afternoons in all but one church, the average attendance being thirty. Three of the churches have Sunday schools, with a total enrollment of 105. There are five Y. M. C. A.'s with a membership of 162, and four women's missionary societies with a membership of 112.

To cover this difficult field adequately, making full use of the church organization which is already set up, would seem to call, first, for the energetic leadership of a resident white missionary, and secondly, for the strengthening of the native leadership. More use might well be made of the returned students, of whom there are approximately 400, in promoting a social program which would act as a substitute for the questionable resorts in the railroad villages to which the Indians at present turn for amusement. In this way the Indian would be induced to make a more practical application of his religion to his every-day life. Leadership is the prime need.²⁸

FORT BELKNAP RESERVATION

Some time in the earlier part of the seventeenth century the Assiniboinés are said to have separated themselves from the

²⁷ The reports indicate 1,250 adherents under Medicine Lake and St. Ursula's missions.

²⁸ The Billings Conference, realizing the strategic place occupied by the two Sioux reservations in Montana, took the following action:

"In view of the fact of the Dakota Native Missionary Society having initiated the work on the Fort Belknap and Fort Peck reservations, we recommend that the work be further encouraged and developed by the placing of a white resident missionary on these fields by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A."

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Yanktonai Sioux and taken refuge among the rocks of Lake of the Woods, near the river bearing their name in Canada. By 1829 they were occupying a considerable stretch of territory west of the Dakotas and north of the Missouri River, their numbers at that time being estimated at 8,000. Decimated by the smallpox epidemic of 1836, they were placed on the Fort Belknap and Fort Peck reservations following the treaties of 1855. With them, on the Fort Belknap reservation are found some Gros Ventres and Crees, placed here not because of consanguinity but because they, like the Assiniboinés, were originally inhabitants of this northern country.

All told, the Indians on the Fort Belknap reservation now number 1,319, none of whom are citizens. The reservation measures 536,960 acres, all unallotted. The country is broken and partly mountainous, better fitted for grazing than for agriculture. Ten thousand acres have, however, been brought under cultivation by means of an irrigation project launched ten years ago, and forty acres of this land are set aside for each Indian. The tribal herd numbers 2,500 head of cattle and roaming wild on the reservation are 11,000 horses. Despite the efforts made in their behalf the Indians do not take kindly to agriculture and make little attempt to farm the land available, giving as an excuse their inability to erect fences adequate to keep out the ranging cattle. Twice a year they receive a little spending money from the rental paid by the Matadore Cattle Company, which leases approximately one-half the reservation.

Poor and backward, these Indians lead a hand-to-mouth and rather dreary existence. Distances are considerable and means of communication poor, the roads on the reservation being little more than trails. Consequently there is little opportunity for social intercourse. Their homes are usually log huts consisting of a single room. Tuberculosis is not prevalent, though the bovine variety is extensive, but 50 per cent. of the population suffer from trachoma. Efforts are now being made to improve the quality of the medical supervision, which in the past has been exceedingly lax. Marriage, as among other northern tribes, is usually by legal form, but

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there are many separations. In the past there was a good deal of intermarriage between Indians and whites, and this is still somewhat extensive. The quality of white civilization with which these Indians came into contact in early times was not of the highest type, since many of the whites who settled here had fled to Montana to evade the law, and later, at the time of the building of the Great Northern Railroad, the white influences to which the Indians were subjected were not of the best. Traces of the influences of those days, when a dance-hall and a saloon occupied every possible point of vantage, still remain, but the situation in regard to alcohol and gambling has improved of recent years, although local sympathy still favors rather than thwarts the offender who indulges in illicit liquor traffic and other questionable practices.

Apart from the Roman Catholic mission school, mentioned elsewhere, educational facilities on this reservation are furnished by a Government boarding school at the Agency at Fort Belknap, and a Government day school at Lodge Pole. These facilities are entirely inadequate, and in view of the high percentage of illiteracy on the reservation (40 per cent.) it seems probable that many of the children have not attended school at all. The Government schools are poorly equipped and undermanned. This is especially true of the school at Fort Belknap, which has an enrollment of ninety-five and carries the first six grades. The equipment of the four buildings connected with the school is in a deplorable condition. The school rooms are poorly lighted and ventilated. As many as twenty-five boys are housed in a single room in the dormitories, and a similar situation exists in the girls' quarters. Religious affiliations show that all but four of the pupils are Roman Catholics. Services are conducted once a month by a priest, but no other religious activities are reported. A forward-looking educational program is a prime need on this reservation. Either the boarding school at Belknap should be strengthened, or more day schools should be provided.

Religiously the large majority of these Indians are Roman Catholic, 900 being given as the number of adherents of that church. The Roman Catholics have two strong missions,

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each with a resident priest, and one out-station. There is also a Roman Catholic mission school with a capacity of 150 pupils.

Protestant work is confined to two Presbyterian churches, one at the Agency south of Savoy, the other situated among the mixed-blood families in the southern part of the reservation, south of Brookside. The latter work, which was started in 1909 and is being energetically prosecuted, is supported by the Christian Sioux of South Dakota, through the "Wotanin Waste" (Good News Society) of the Dakota Indian Presbytery. Twenty-five families are connected with this church. Both stations are in charge of native lay missionaries. The total number on the church rolls is seventy-three, of whom thirty-two are classed as active members. There is a Sunday school attached to one church, with an enrollment of twenty-five, and other organizations are two Y. M. C. A.'s, with a membership of forty-two, and two women's societies, with a membership of thirty-three.²⁹

V: Indians of Idaho

Of all the Indian tribes of North America the Nez Perces are perhaps the best known and among the most interesting. Their friendly dealings with the Lewis and Clark Expedition which discovered them in 1805, their embassy to St. Louis in search of "the Book of the Great White Spirit," and their share in the romantic history of the opening up of the Oregon country in which the heroic Whitman played so prominent a part have all contributed to make this tribe among the most famous in Indian history.³⁰

Originally roaming over the wide expanse of territory between the Blue Mountains in Oregon and the Bitter Root Mountains in Idaho, the Nez Perces made their first treaty with the United States in 1855, by which they waived their rights to these tribal lands and agreed to accept a reservation

²⁹ The same general recommendations would apply in regard to the religious situation here as are given under the Devils Lake reservation, in North Dakota. See Ch. XI, § V. See also under Fort Peck, above.

³⁰ See account under Oregon, Ch. XIV, § II.

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lying partly in the Wallowa Valley in Oregon and partly in Idaho. Unfortunately for the peace of the tribe gold was discovered in western Idaho in 1860. It was not long before the reservation of the Nez Perces was overrun and the town of Lewiston was laid out on Indian land as the first capital of Idaho. A second treaty was ratified in 1863 which still further restricted the lands of the Nez Perces, confining them to the Fort Lapwai reservation, in Idaho, and the unsatisfactory terms of which led to the Chief Joseph War in 1877. The remnant of Chief Joseph's band was finally settled on the Colville reservation, Washington, where its successors still are, and the rest of the tribe remains in Idaho.

The Indians of Idaho at the present time are settled on four reservations, having a total area of 783,107 acres, all of which is allotted except 97,349 acres. The northern and western part of this land is fertile and under cultivation, while the rainfall is abundant and the climate in general healthful. Cœur d'Alene reservation is situated in Benewah County in the northwestern part of the State. Adjoining it are settled two small bands of Indians, the Kootenai and Kalispel. The land of the former is not a reservation proper but is composed of scattered farms bought from white people some ten years ago. The latter are just across the line along the Pend d'Oreille River, in the State of Washington, but are included under the Cœur d'Alene jurisdiction. Fort Lapwai reservation, interesting as the original settlement of the Spaldings when they first came to the Oregon country in 1836, extends into parts of four counties, Nez Perce, Idaho, Clearwater and Lewis. Fort Hall is in the southeastern part of the State in Bingham, Bannock and Power counties.³¹

All the Idaho reservations are readily accessible by rail. On Fort Lapwai, the home of the Nez Perces, are 245 miles of roads and on Cœur d'Alene, 350 miles. The total Indian population is 3,985, the largest number, 1,765, being on the Fort Hall reservation,³² with Fort Lapwai next with 1,450.

³¹ For details of these reservations see Reservation Summaries, Appendix I, § V.

³² Included with Fort Hall are the Lemhi Indians.

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There has been a slight increase in population on two of the reservations since 1910, while on two others the population has remained stationary. United States citizens number 1,298, while 2,417 of the Indians are restricted.

The natural resources of the reservations include 166,807 board feet of timber on two of them. The chief source of income is, however, agriculture, including the raising of cattle, the Fort Hall reservation being best adapted for the latter, while the Cœur d'Alene and Fort Lapwai regions are better suited to the growing of grains and diversified farming. On the Fort Hall reservation an ambitious irrigation project is under way which, when complete, will make irrigable 45,000 acres. As on many other reservations the practice of leasing land is far too common. On Fort Lapwai practically all of the Indians lease their farms, since they can usually get more money for their leases than by farming the land themselves. Government officials are, however, taking vigorous steps to encourage the Indians to farm their own lands. Poverty is acute only among the Kalispels, where 25 per cent. of the population is affected, and these are among the poorest Indians in the Northwest. Among the Cœur d'Alenes the reverse is true, and the large sums of money which these Indians have received for their land patents, as is the case among some of the Indians in Oklahoma, have brought disastrous results. On the other hand, the Nez Perce Indians, under the Fort Lapwai jurisdiction, have long had the reputation of being industrious, thrifty and prosperous. Only at one point, Fort Hall, are rations given to 223 orphans and decrepit old people.

With the opening of Indian lands for settlement mushroom towns and cities grew up almost over night. On the Idaho reservations are nineteen towns and postoffices. Lewiston, which was originally situated on Indian land, has always been a favorite trading place for the Indians and is an important commercial center.

In general, and especially among the Nez Percés, where family relations are as near normal as in any modern white community, the State marriage laws are observed. On one reservation, however, the common law marriages number 50

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per cent. and certain irregularities occur at two other places. The number of divorces in 1921 was fourteen. Living conditions for the most part tend to foster health and morality. The percentage of tuberculosis and trachoma is not as high as on some western reservations, although on one of these reservations 209 cases of tuberculosis are known and on another 40 per cent. of the population are affected. There is a Roman Catholic hospital among the Cœur d'Alene Indians and a sanatorium under Government auspices among the Nez Percés, which also admits other tribes.

It would perhaps hardly be an exaggeration to say that in general the fact of an Indian becoming a Christian raises his social status on these reservations. Certainly on Fort Lapwai the non-Christian is alluded to as a "pagan" by the Christian Indians as well as by the whites. The designation, however, although it may carry with it a sense of aloofness, involves no real class distinction. The Kootenai Indians resemble the Hopis in their tribal exclusiveness and do not intermarry either with whites or with other tribes. Only on the Cœur d'Alene reservation is there any trace of race prejudice. Here the Indian children are not generally welcomed in the public schools by the whites. At Fort Lapwai and Fort Hall, on the other hand, the Indians are respected and treated on an equal footing by their white neighbors. It is generally agreed that the Church holds the first place in directing public opinion. In general, the social life of the Indians centers in nearby towns in connection with places of amusement and recreation patronized by the white inhabitants. There are no distinctly Indian dance-halls as the tribes still hold their dances in the open.

Moral conditions are on the whole favorable. Most of these Indians are a law-abiding folk, although the Cœur d'Alenes have the unenviable record of thirteen murders in the last six years. Only on one reservation is any problem presented by liquor and on two a good deal of gambling goes on. Peyote has just been introduced on the Fort Hall reservation, but it is impossible to say how far this pernicious cult has gone. Indian dances, seasonal in their character, are

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held five or six times annually among the Bannocks and Shoshonis at Fort Hall. The general effects of the dances are similar to those observed among other western tribes. Of the old Indian religion and superstition very little is left. The old medicine men are dying off, and no new ones come forward to take their place.

The problem presented by the returned students was studied on four of these reservations. The returned students number 392, 185 men and 207 women. Of these, 107 have attended the Government non-reservation schools. On one reservation forty-five of these returned students are reported as living and practicing the old Indian ways, the excuse generally given being, "not to go back is too hard." In other words the students follow the lines of least resistance. On the other hand, among the Nez Perces some of the returned students are among the outstanding leaders of the tribe. The reason for this satisfactory situation is that in this tribe more attention has been given to fostering native leadership than on any other reservation in the United States. There has been maintained at Lapwai for many years a private school in the home of the missionary for the training of native pastors and this has served also as a school of development for lay leadership.³³

The first school in what is now the State of Idaho was established by the Spaldings in 1836. At the present time there are nineteen schools on the Idaho reservations—viz., four Government schools, two mission schools and the remainder public schools which are open to the Indian children. Two of the four Government schools are boarding schools, located respectively at Fort Hall and Fort Lapwai. The former is a boarding school proper with an enrollment of 138. The latter is known as the Fort Lapwai Sanatorium and is an institution primarily for the treatment of children in the incipient stages of tuberculosis. It was opened in 1914 and has an enrollment of eighty, representing thirty-six different tribes.

³³ The missionaries at Fort Lapwai are women, nieces of the Misses McBeth, under the Women's Board of the Presbyterian Church, and while they are not ordained workers they exercise the supervision over six churches in that field and are a constant source of inspiration and help to the native pastors.

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Instruction is given only when physical conditions permit. The religious affiliation of pupils shows the following preferences: Baptists, 4; Congregationalists, 6; Methodists, 10; Presbyterians, 48; Roman Catholics, 9; Unattached, 3. Sunday school and young people's societies for these children are conducted by mission workers from near-by stations.

In addition to these two Government boarding schools is a Roman Catholic boarding school known as St. Joseph's, on the Fort Lapwai reservation, which has an enrollment of fifty-six, and an Episcopal boarding school for girls known as The Good Shepherd, located at Fort Hall and having an enrollment of twenty.³⁴

Two Government day schools are situated among the Kootenais and Kalispels respectively. The former carries the first three grades and has an enrollment of twenty-five children, all of whom are nominally Roman Catholic. The school is poorly located and the children should be scattered in white public schools nearer to their homes. The school at Kalispell also carries the first three grades and has an enrollment of seventeen. All of the children are nominally Roman Catholic. The time is near at hand when these children also should be attending public schools. The fact that more children every year are attending the public schools of their neighborhoods indicates not only a favorable attitude toward education on the part of their parents, but an increasing lack of discrimination against Indian pupils by the white people.

As has been seen, the missionary history of this field is a stirring one. Spalding labored among the Nez Perce Indians in the Lapwai field until the Whitman massacre in 1847. For the time being the Indian wars that ensued made it appear as though the efforts of these devoted missionaries had been in vain, but fifteen years after he was driven out Spalding returned, and by 1871, when the work came under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board, the time was found ripe for a re-

³⁴ This school for girls is well-equipped with a strong personnel and teaching staff. No tuition is charged. Daily services, together with religious instruction, are held at the school. Sunday school and church services are held weekly and are open to the reservation Indians and the pupils of the Government school as well as to members of the mission.

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ligious revival among the Indians, which justified the faith of the first missionaries. There followed the labors of the Misses McBeth, 1873 to 1915, which was a period of notable church development. Extension work, carried on from the Nez Perces to neighboring tribes, especially among the Fort Hall Indians, commenced in 1897, while among the Indians under the Cœur d'Alene jurisdiction missionary work has been carried on exclusively by the Roman Catholics.³⁵

At the present time there are eight Protestant churches on these reservations: a Protestant Episcopal church at Fort Hall,³⁶ six Presbyterian churches and one Methodist South church among the Nez Perces, giving an average of one church to every 498 Indians.

Material Equipment: All churches own their own buildings. The mission property at Fort Hall is valued at \$25,000; value of other churches is \$13,700.

Pastors: All six Nez Perce churches are manned by native pastors, all but one giving full time to their churches. At Fort Hall two clergymen are giving part time service. Average salary is \$514. The training of these pastors is above the average as a result of the course of instruction prepared by the women missionaries among the Nez Perce Indians.

Finances: All churches contribute to missions and benevolences. Three churches use the budget system for both local expenses and benevolences. Home mission aid is received to some extent but prospects for self-support are excellent. The annual receipts reported by seven churches total \$6,994.52, an average of \$956.36 per congregation. Expenditures total \$6,691.52, an average of \$955.93 per congregation.

Membership: The total number on the church rolls of seven churches reporting is 592, of whom 417 are classed as active, an average of eighty-five per congregation. At the Episcopal mission at Fort Hall the confirmed list reaches the hundred mark. A net gain of seventeen was recorded during the fiscal year 1920-21.

Organizations Within Churches: All churches have Sunday

³⁵ The Roman Catholics also have a mission station at Slickpoo, Idaho, in connection with their mission school among the Nez Perces, among whom they claim 300 adherents.

³⁶ The Presbyterians at one time carried on the work among the Fort Hall Indians but in 1921 the missionary responsibility was turned over to the Episcopalians.

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schools, the average enrollment being sixty-eight, and an average attendance of fifty-three for each. There are twenty-one auxiliary organizations. There are six missionary societies, one junior auxiliary, eight Christian Endeavor societies and six temperance societies.

Church Program: In the seven churches reporting, Sunday morning services are held weekly. There are Sunday afternoon services in connection with the Sunday school. In six churches mid-week services are also held. All services are in the native tongue except at the Fort Hall mission.³⁷ The great annual event among the Nez Perce Indians is the camp meeting or union meeting of all the Presbyterian churches which is held during July of each year. Noteworthy circumstances in connection with the general church program are that five churches report that they contribute to the support of a native worker among their own people and that they have for many years helped to send the Gospel to other tribes, notably the Umatillas in Oregon, Spokanes in Washington, the Northern Cheyennes in Montana and the Western Shoshonis on the Duck Valley reservation.

The relatively high moral standards and the rich historical inheritance of the Idaho Indians present exceptionally encouraging conditions. "The Book of the Great White Spirit" has played and plays an important part in the lives of these people. There are, nevertheless, certain features about the missionary work on these reservations which are susceptible to improvement. More use might well be made of the churches as social centers and when any question of remodeling comes up the dearth of social and recreational equipment should be remembered. Only in the Fort Lapwai field is there any overlapping. Here the Southern Methodist Church has recently been organized and it seems a pity that the entire field should not be left to the Presbyterians who were the pioneers of the work. In the Cœur d'Alene jurisdiction there are four Protestant churches on two town sites within the limits of the reservation which might assume some responsibility towards the Indians in the form of extension work.

³⁷ It is interesting to note in this connection that the Gospel of St. Matthew was translated into the Nez Perce language by Dr. Spalding, as well as a number of hymns, while Miss S. L. McBeth composed a Nez Perce grammar and dictionary.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PACIFIC COAST

I: Indians of California

NON-RESERVATION INDIANS

In the year 1906, a special agent, C. E. Kelsey, charged with an investigation of conditions among the Indians in California, discovered a lone Indian speaking a language which nobody could understand. He was the single survivor of his tribe, one of a large number of tribes doomed to extinction during the second half of the nineteenth century. The special agent made his discovery, and the lone Indian took his place in history as epitomizing the tragedy of his race, because the United States Government had turned in its sleep and remembered a promise made more than fifty years earlier, but still unfulfilled. The story of that unfulfilled promise constitutes a black page in the history of the dealings of the United States with its Indian wards.

In the years 1851 and 1852, eighteen treaties "of peace and friendship" with the United States were signed by some 400 Indian chiefs of northern California. The principal stipulations in these treaties were that the 400 or so Indian tribes, represented by their chiefs, agreed to surrender their rights to lands to the United States Government, in return for which the Government undertook to give them certain reservations, aggregating 7,500,000 acres and valued then at about \$9,500,000, to be "set apart and forever held for the sole use and occupancy of said tribes of Indians." The Government made other promises as well—to give the Indians nearly \$2,000,000 of goods, to provide schools for them, and to give them instruction in certain appropriate crafts—but the main

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thing was the surrender of the Indians' rights and their compensation by inalienable grants of land.

The Indians, not being versed in constitutional law, accepted the Government's word and surrendered their lands all right, and the Government disposed of the lands, which were quickly occupied by white settlers. But the Indians got nothing in return. The treaties were sent to the Senate in June, 1852, but failed of ratification, and thereafter for half a century they reposed in the Senate's secret archives. When the Government finally turned in its sleep and blinked an eye in the general direction of the successors of those tribes with whom it had made solemn treaties more than fifty years previously, it discovered that the problem of finding a place for the Indians had nearly solved itself—for there were very few Indians left. Homeless and landless, without rights or standing that any white man was bound to respect, the 200,000 Indians who, through their chiefs, had accepted the word of the United States fifty years previously, had been reduced in numbers by famine and disease to some 15,000 or 20,000.

Since that time the Government has attempted to right this ancient wrong. Congress has made annual appropriations from which small tracts of land have been purchased for these Indians,¹ and others among them have been encouraged to take allotments on the public domain, while in 1920 officials of the Indian Bureau made an investigation to discover how many of the Indians were still landless.²

¹ Since 1906 the Indian Bureau has bought 8,300 acres of land for 4,500 California Indians. This includes both the non-reservation group and the Mission Indians.

² The report of this investigation, in which the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Indian Bureau coöperated, contains encouragement for the future: (1) The adoption of a California land policy, with appropriate legislation to make it effective, predicated upon acknowledgment of a legal debt owed to the Indians; (2) This policy to include education for the children, permanent home-sites for non-reservation Indians, and adequate provision for the care of their aged, disabled, delinquent and helpless; (3) The adoption, with necessary modifications, of the successful colony system established by the Indian service in Nevada for landless Piutes and Washoes; (4) The coöperation of the State of California in all activities to be secured, if possible, but, if not, the Government to assume its just obligations.

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Unfortunately, by the time the Government remembered its responsibilities and its promises, most of the desirable land in northern California was unattainable. The result is that many of the allotments that have been purchased for the Indians consist of rough land on mountain tops or in deserts, productive only of sage brush and devoid of water. The acrimony engendered by the impossibility of making a living under these unfavorable conditions has not been mitigated by the fact that often no attention has been paid to tribal animosities in making allotments, and that representatives of two tribes who have hated each other like poison for generations may find themselves cheek by jowl on contiguous allotments. It is evident that some account should have been taken of such tribal animosities when one remembers that in the first part of the last century 200 distinct dialects were spoken by the Indian tribes of northern California, and that the tribes were classified by ethnologists into twenty-two or twenty-three linguistic stocks as distinct as the Chippewas and Sioux. Naturally, Governmental neglect during the latter part of the last century left the Indians free to add internecine warfare to the less violent agencies of tribal extinction such as famine and disease.

The non-reservation Indians of California are to-day scattered over forty counties, and numbered, in 1920, 14,497.³ They may be divided into three groups: (1) Those who have taken allotments on the public domain as homesteaders; (2) those living on small tracts of land purchased for them recently by the Government; (3) those without land, living in rude shacks, as squatters, on the various ranches or in any spot where they can stay until told to "move on." These three classes number approximately 3,500, 4,000 and 6,500 respectively. Housing conditions, and consequently health, in the first class show an upward tendency, and there has been some improvement also among the second class. In these two classes the percentage both of trachoma and of tuberculosis is

³ The distribution of these Indians by counties, numbers and tribes is shown in Appendix I, § VI.

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so low as to be almost negligible. The third class, of squatters, can naturally make no progress, and health conditions are correspondingly bad, the percentage of trachoma being about 20 and of tuberculosis 25. For all but the Indians of the first class employment is seasonal. They move from place to place as the crop seasons offer work, and the homes, whether of the squatters on ranches or of many on Government allotments, are regarded principally as places of refuge during off seasons.

For certain bands, lands have been provided by philanthropic and religious associations, the settlement at Chico, on the ranch of the late General Bidwell, left to the charge of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions by Mrs. Bidwell, being the most noteworthy example. Promise for the future is to be found in a growing interest shown by the various counties in the welfare of their Indian population. Seven county organizations are doing relief work among old and indigent Indians, and in a number of counties this sentiment has resulted in transforming the Indians from a liability into an asset to the community, with more demand for Indian labor than there are Indians to meet it.

A natural consequence of the Government's former breach of faith with the Indians has been a general distrust of the white man which has extended to "the white man's religion." The general situation, therefore, in regard to missionary work among the roving, landless bands of non-reservation Indians is not encouraging. All the more tribute should on this account be paid to those boards and societies whose efforts to help these unfortunate people have persisted in face of much discouragement. The Methodists were the first in this field, establishing themselves in Plumas County in 1890. They were followed by the Baptists, who started work among the Monos in 1908, and by the Presbyterians, in Madero County, and the Episcopalians, in Humboldt County, in 1912. The following are the Protestant churches in this field:⁴

⁴ Only those churches doing distinctively Indian missionary work are included. This report does not include extension work by so-called white churches in Indian communities.

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COUNTY	DENOMINATION	NUMBER OF CHURCHES	POPULATION MINISTERED TO
Madero.....	Baptist	2	801
".....	Presbyterian	1	801
Fresno ⁵	Baptist	2	838
Plumas.....	Methodist Episcopal	1	660
Humboldt...	Protestant Episcopal	1	818 ⁶

All the above churches and stations have their own buildings, of a total value of \$8,850. The total membership is 394, an average of fifty-six per congregation. A net gain of sixty-three was shown last year, the majority of those received by confession being young people under twenty-one. Every church has a Sunday school, with an average enrollment of seventy-four for each, and there are besides four young people's organizations. Services are held every Sunday in all churches, morning and evening services in three of them. The average attendance at morning services is sixty-one. Four churches also have mid-week prayer meetings. Four use English and three an interpreter. There are five pastors, one a native. One pastor serves six points; three serve two points each. None follow other occupations. The total annual receipts are reported as \$6,931.86, an average of \$990.26 per congregation, of which \$1,017.86 is received from collections. All churches receive home mission aid. Four make use of a budget-system, one using the weekly envelope. Five contribute to missions and benevolences.⁷

⁵ Since this survey was made the Baptists have opened a new station with 28 members and a Sunday school with an average attendance of 30.

⁶ The total Indian population of the county is 818, of whom the Episcopalians are reaching 320, 60 per cent. thus remaining without religious influence.

⁷ The Northern California Indian Association was formed thirty years ago to inaugurate missionary and school work. When this was sufficiently far advanced its purpose was to turn it over to some responsible mission board—an instance being the plant at Hoopa Valley which was turned over to the Presbyterians. Of recent years this Association has been conducting a school in Yolo County known as Gwinda, with an enrollment of eighteen. It was closed in 1920.

In recognition of the Association the Sacramento Survey Conference, held in March, 1922, passed the following:

"In view of the real Christian service rendered to the Indians of northern California by the Northern California Indian Association, during its many years of existence, we recommend that the Association be urged to carry on its work in the field of influencing and developing public opinion in the interests of the Indians of California and to that end dispose of its property at Gwinda and elsewhere, retaining the fund so established in such ways as to produce yearly income for educational purposes, which may be annually appropriated to agencies already organized for effectively promoting the better interests of California Indians."

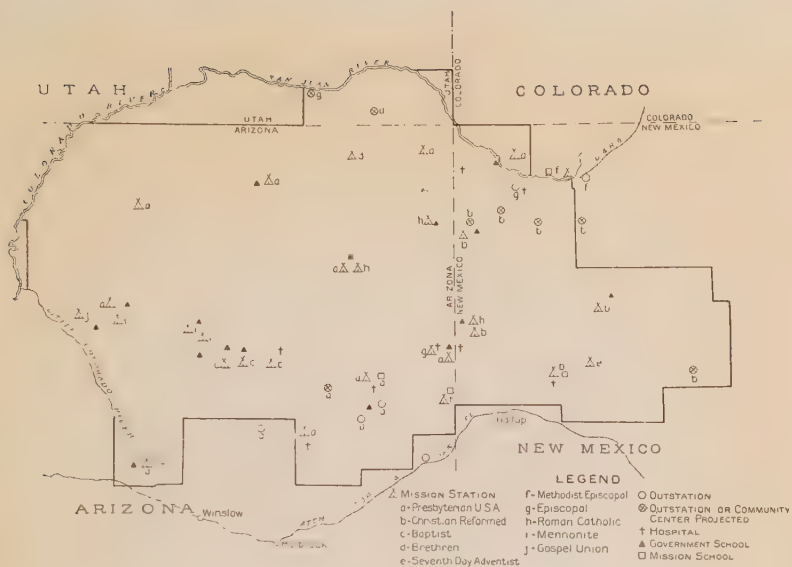
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RESERVATION INDIANS

Not all of the Indians in California submitted tamely to the treatment accorded them by the United States Government, described in the last section. There were rebels among them who stirred up trouble and made themselves generally objectionable. The ironical result was that the trouble-makers received lands, while their more peaceable fellows were neglected. Six reservations, all but one in northern California, with a total area of 295,032 acres, of which 79,491 acres are allotted, were set aside for the troublesome Indians, whose successors now number 3,439. The reservations are as follows: (1) Round Valley, 42,560 acres, contains the remnants of five tribes; (2) Digger, 320 acres, four miles from Jackson, contains only fifty-one Indians; (3) Hoopa Valley, 128,142 acres, of which 29,091 are allotted, in Humboldt and Del Norte counties; (4) Fort Bidwell,⁸ 3,000 acres, in Modoc County, contains only sixty people; (5) Tule River, 70,000 acres, all unallotted, in Tulare County; (6) Fort Yuma, 51,000 acres, of which 42,700 are unallotted, in the southeastern corner of the State, on the Colorado River, has the distinction of being the hottest region in the United States. On four of the reservations there has been a slight increase in population during the past ten years; on two of them the population has remained stationary.

The chief source of income for these reservation Indians is the raising of cattle, swine and poultry. Little land is available for agriculture, the most extensive irrigation project being at Fort Yuma, where there are 4,381 acres of irrigable land. The only mineral is some manganese at Round Valley, but the six reservations contain 1,640,050,000 board feet of timber, and the Indians find work in the lumber camps as well as on the ranches and at seasonable labor generally. There is also a little basket-making and bead work. Poverty is

⁸ Fort Bidwell is an old military post located in Modoc County. While there are only 60 Indians connected with the reservation proper there are 675 in that county, of which 150 are under the influence of the Congregational missionary.



NAVAJO AND HOPI RESERVATION

This is the largest unopened reservation in the United States. Missionary forces are now in occupation of the strategic centers.

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found on all the reservations, affecting as many as 75 per cent. on one of them.

Long contact with the white man has led to his customs being generally followed in domestic relationships, though socially and morally the Indians are on an inferior plane. Marriage is uniformly by State law and the position of women is virtually the same as in white communities. Intermarriage among the different tribes is common, and on two reservations there is also intermarriage with Mexicans. On the part of the white population of the State there is, however, strong race prejudice against the Indians. There is practically nothing in the way of organized recreational life among the Indians.

Housing conditions have improved of late years, but 131 one-room shacks are still reported in the six reservations. At Fort Yuma the houses are of adobe, which is appropriate to the climate, and at Round Valley there are 131 houses of two or more rooms. In the mountainous regions tuberculosis is negligible, and it is nowhere a serious menace. Trachoma, however, is more prevalent, affecting as many as 80 per cent. on one reservation. Medical service on these reservations is inadequate, comparing unfavorably with that on the western reservations. Only two of the reservations offer hospital facilities.

The old Indian religion exercises an influence on only two of the reservations, affecting 10 per cent. on one and 90 per cent. on the other. At Fort Yuma the old religion bears a resemblance to certain theistic beliefs. Indian dances present a problem on one reservation only, where twelve dances are held annually, with demoralizing effects. The use of alcohol is gradually diminishing, but gambling is prevalent among both men and women, and there is a distressing amount of immorality, though no commercialized prostitution.

The earliest missionary work among these Indians was established by the Methodists on the Round Valley reservation in 1865, the latest by the Congregationalists (not yet organized) at Fort Bidwell, in 1913. The Methodists are also established at Fort Yuma, and the Presbyterians have a mission on

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the Hoopa Valley reservation.⁹ There are also Roman Catholic churches at Fort Yuma and at Tule River. The latter, however, is served only once every two months by a priest who is also in charge of a white parish. At Fort Yuma there is a regular priest, and a church has recently been built at a cost of \$10,000, while plans are under way for the erection of a club house. The number of Catholic adherents is reported at 600.

Of the four Protestant churches, three own their own buildings, the most modern and best equipped being that at Fort Yuma, which was recently built at a cost of \$9,000. All four churches, of which three are organized, are supported by home mission aid, receiving little assistance from their poverty-stricken Indian congregations. The total annual receipts are \$5,650. The total membership is 141, an average of forty-seven per church. A net gain of thirty-nine was recorded last year. Parish lines are identical with reservation lines, except at Hoopa Valley, where the missionary is able to reach only 300 of the 1,712 persons under that jurisdiction. There are four Sunday schools, with a total enrollment of 294. All four churches hold services every Sunday, the average attendance at morning service being fifty-five. At one, mission afternoon services are also held in the camp when the Indians are at home.

MISSION INDIANS

The romance and the wrongs of the Mission Indians have been vividly portrayed in "Ramona." The great work of the Franciscan Fathers among these people was done between the years 1769 and 1834. It remained uncompleted when the Mexican Government, in the latter year, practically made an end of the communistic life which had characterized the Indians. At that time it was estimated that there were some 35,000 Mission Indians. To-day there are less than 3,000. This literal decimation was wrought principally in the years immediately following 1834, when the Mission lands were

⁹ Episcopalians opened up work here in 1896 but are now working from Orleans as a center farther north in the same county (Humboldt). The Presbyterians took up the work in 1901 which had been begun by the Northern California Indian Association. The Holy Rollers have been on the Hoopa Valley field the past two years and have now (1922) asked a permit of the Indian Bureau to build a church.



AN OLD WAR CHIEF

Wah-loul-a-tum, of the Walla Walla, the tribe which massacred Marcus Whitman



WASCO INDIANS, WARM SPRINGS RESERVATION

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thrown open to general settlement. With the cession of California to the United States and the stirring events that accompanied and followed it, the Indians continued to receive scant consideration. Evicted from their lands, harried from pillar to post, they fell ready victims to the ravages of starvation and disease.

At the present time the 2,818 survivors of these tribes are settled on thirty-two small reservations, covering in all 246,306 acres of the poorest land in the State. These barren acres of hilly, desert land were set aside from the public domain principally in 1889, by which time most of the available land was already occupied. Consequently, it is only here and there that a little water is available for irrigation and that cultivation of the soil is possible. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find three reservations entirely deserted by Indians, while on each of four others there are fewer than five Indians. For the vast majority of the population a bare existence only is possible, eked out by such seasonal occupations as ranch work, berry-picking and the like. Nevertheless, these Indians have always been known as an industrious folk, and, given opportunity, they prove good ranchers and agriculturists. Where a little water is available, fruit trees are planted, and alfalfa, corn and barley are raised. In 1920, the live stock owned by the Indians consisted of 1,958 head of cattle, 1,514 horses, ninety colonies of bees, and 6,210 head of poultry. Eighty-five of the women are engaged in basket-making or lace-making, and twenty-nine men are employed by the Government Indian Service.

Housing conditions among the Mission Indians are fairly good, the majority living in adobe houses of two or more rooms, and where tuberculosis occurs, as on two reservations on which 50 per cent. are affected, the disease is attributable to the under-nourished condition of the people. Medical care leaves something to be desired. The Indians, though entitled to the services of Government doctors, are usually beyond their reach, and there are no field matrons on any of the reservations.

Practically all of the Indians being nominally Catholic, mar-

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riages are by State law, and there are few, if any, divorces. There is some gambling, but no use of alcohol on the reservations, and what remains of the Indian superstition is usually adapted to present religious uses. Tribal lines are not closely drawn, except where ancient enemies have been arbitrarily placed in close juxtaposition. There is frequent intermarriage between tribes and of Indians with Mexicans. The Church and the schools are the dominant influences on public opinion, and the only organized social activities are the fiestas held under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church.

The spiritual needs of the Indians are ministered to by twenty-two Roman Catholic missions, which have a total number of 2,366 members or adherents. Services, either in English or in Spanish, are held weekly at nine of the missions, monthly at eight, and semi-annually at five.

The only Protestants having work in this field are the Moravians and Episcopalians, the former having been there since 1889. The Episcopal work is at Lajolla, with a deaconess in charge, who has taught lace-making to the women.¹⁰ A Sunday school is conducted during the summer, but no permanent mission has yet been established. The Moravians have three missions, at Banning, Martinez and Rincon, and occasional services are also held at Augustine and Pechanga. The total number of communicants is 194. Only one church is organized, and the work is entirely supported by mission aid. At Banning the Moravian missionary has been instrumental in changing entirely the economic basis of the Indians' life by demonstrating to them the practicability of fruit raising.¹¹ At Rincon, Pechanga and Lajolla the missionary is compelled to devote part of his time to ranch work. Development of the field would be stimulated if the missionaries at these points were able to give full time to the work.

The educational facilities offered both to the Reservation and to the Mission Indians may most conveniently be consid-

¹⁰ The centers for the lace industry are: Santa Isabel, Mesa Grande, Lajolla, Rincon and Palmer.

¹¹ As an example, 400 tons of first quality apricots were sold by the Banning Indians, 1921.

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ered under one head.¹² Of the Indian children of school age in California, estimated, in 1920, to number 4,544, 2,338 are enrolled in the public schools,¹³ and it is encouraging to note in this connection that the race prejudice, which was marked a few years ago, seems to be rapidly disappearing. The exclusively Indian schools, apart from Sherman Institute, consist of twelve Government day schools, three reservation boarding schools, and two mission schools.^{13a}

Of the Government day schools, three are on Tule River reservation, three on Round Valley, and the remainder on Mission reservations. Only the first three grades are carried by any of these schools, and the total enrollment is 226, an average of 18 for each school. Religious affiliations show the following preferences: Roman Catholics, 148; Baptists, 59; Methodists, 19; Moravians, 5. Religious instruction is confined to occasional visits made by missionaries to schools which are in the vicinity of mission stations. In most of the schools no religious instruction is given. At Auberry, however, the pupils attend the services at the Baptist Mission, and the Catholics have charge of their own pupils at Ukiah.

The three boarding schools are at Fort Bidwell, Hoopa Valley and Fort Yuma. The school at Fort Bidwell carries the first six grades and has an enrollment of ninety-six. All the pupils give Congregational as their religious preference, and until recently, when the Congregational missionary left owing to ill health, religious services and a Sunday school were conducted at the school. The Hoopa Valley school, with an enrollment of 156, carries the first six grades. All give Presbyterian as their religious preference, and Sunday services and a Sunday school are conducted by the Presbyterian missionary. Fort Yuma school was originally a Roman Catholic mission school, but was taken over by the Government in 1900. The first five grades are carried, and the enrollment is 113, of whom fifty-seven are Methodists and fifty-six Roman Catholics. Services are conducted in the nearby mission churches.

¹² Sherman Institute, a non-reservation boarding school, is treated under the general heading "Non-Reservation Schools" in Appendix II.

¹³ The representatives of the Government have about 70 contracts with the public school authorities to pay 35 to 50 cents a day for each Indian child enrolled.

^{13a} The Government school at Greenville, at one time a Methodist mission school, suffered losses by fire during the winter of 1922 and has not been rebuilt.

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Of the two mission schools, St. Boniface's is a Roman Catholic Sisters' school, near the Morongo reservation, with an enrollment of 135, and carrying the first eight grades. The value of the campus and buildings is \$99,000. The North Fork Indian Mission School is maintained by the Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. It carries the first eight grades, has a total enrollment of eighteen, and includes religious instruction in the curriculum. The value of buildings and equipment is \$12,060.

In a survey of the whole California field in the three divisions which have been established—the Non-Reservation, Reservation and Mission Indians—two definite impressions stand out. The first is the imperative nature of the obligation that lies upon the United States Government to atone so far as is now possible for its lamentable breach of faith with the Indians.¹⁴ On this subject enough has already been said. The second is the hard fact that in the report on the three groups the total membership of fourteen organized Protestant churches is 710, while the total number of "unreached" Indians in California is approximately 10,000.

It is evident that this latter condition can only be remedied by coöperation between home mission boards and societies and local and State agencies. In particular, a definite allocation of responsibility seems desirable for the following groups:

COUNTY	POPULATION	PRESENT STATUS
Kern	305	Occasional visit of Roman Catholic priest.
Lake	627	Methodist Episcopal missionary touches one point semi-monthly. Balance unreached.
Lassen	627	Methodist Episcopal missionary at Susanville reaches about one hundred. Balance uncared for.
Mendocino	878	Roman Catholic priest visits four points once a month.
Sonoma	422	No work.
Del Norte	436	No work.
Shasta	1,040	Limited work only.

¹⁴ With special reference to land sites for homeless bands and adequate school facilities.

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In certain other counties, also, the work already under way might well be strengthened and its scope enlarged to include all the population.

COUNTY	POPULATION	PRESENT STATUS
Butte	340	Presbyterian mission at Chico reaches seventy Indians. The balance (80 per cent.) under no religious influence.
Humboldt ¹⁵ ...	818	Protestant Episcopal church at Orleans reaches 320. 60 per cent. unreached.
Inyo	1,300	Presbyterian church at Bishop reaches 25 per cent.
Modoc	675	Congregational church in touch with 150.
Plumas	660	Methodist Episcopal church at Greenville reaches 260. Remaining 400 uncared for.
Siskiyou	936	Protestant Episcopal mission at Orleans reaches 300.

The type of work which is most needed among all the Indians of California is community work in its best sense, such as is being carried on so admirably by the Baptists among the Monos.¹⁶

¹⁵ Humboldt County has a welfare worker, whose duty it is to supervise all charities. A number of the Non-Reservation Indians are helped by that agency.

¹⁶ The Sacramento Survey Conference, already referred to, took the following action:

"We recommend that the question of the following unreached fields, namely,

a. Kern County	305	Indians
b. Lake County	627	"
c. Lassen County	627	"
d. Mendocino County	878	"
e. Sonoma County	422	"
f. Del Norte County	436	"
g. Shasta County	1,040	"

be referred to the Secretary of the State Federation of Churches, in order that the matter of allocation of responsibility be referred to the Church organization most naturally able to take up the work, with due reference to any previous allocations."

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II: *Indians of Oregon*

THE ROMANCE OF THE NORTHWEST

In all the history of discovery no more romantic pages are to be found than those telling of the opening up of the rich lands of Oregon and the Northwest.¹⁷ There is the first discovery of the Columbia River, early in the eighteenth century, by Captain Gray in his little coasting vessel. This is followed by Vancouver's exploration of the stream for one hundred miles from its mouth. Vancouver is followed by hunters and trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company, establishing their forts and trading posts along the Columbia and Willamette rivers, and chief among these appears the commanding and picturesque figure of that Dr. John McLoughlin, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rockies, whose wise counsels and fair dealings gave him a position of almost monarchical authority among the wild Indian tribes.

The eventful expedition headed by Lewis and Clark passes across the scene, and presently caravans of hardy pioneers are seen struggling with incredible fortitude across the Rockies and the Blue Mountains, making their painful way as settlers to the promised land of whose wealth and opportunities extraordinary stories have been told. As the stories become more definite and the stream of settlers swells, the future of Oregon becomes a matter of international politics. "Fifty-four forty or fight" is raised as an election cry, and devastating war between the two great English-speaking nations is only averted by a display of mutual tolerance equally creditable to both. By 1846 the claim of the United States to the vast area known as the Oregon country is recognized. Soon its already rich resources are augmented by the discovery of gold. Oregon has become a white man's country.

¹⁷ The "Oregon country," here referred to, was, of course, a good deal wider than the bounds of what is now the State of Oregon. Part of the account that follows would be more accurately placed under the section dealing with the Nez Perce Indians in Idaho, but is given here in the interests of continuity.

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This march of progress left in its wake two notable sufferers. The one was McLoughlin, the virtual founder of the State of Oregon, the friend of the Indian, who first brought him into contact with civilization, the wise leader who dealt fairly with red man and white, American and British. McLoughlin found himself the object of objurgation alike in the American Congress and in the British House of Commons, was deprived of any title to land in the country that he had done so much to make, and died under a cloud of suspicion which was only lifted after history had time to do justice to his great work.

The other sufferer was McLoughlin's friend, the red man, those tribes which, at a word from the powerful Hudson's Bay governor, would have unleashed their fury against the weary American pioneers, and in so doing might have materially altered the course of American history. But the word remained unspoken. McLoughlin gave hospitable treatment to the settlers, and they, in turn, gradually squeezed the red man out of his ancestral lands and hunting areas. It is hardly surprising that the time came when the Indian retaliated with bloody and indiscriminate reprisals upon the intruders, though by that time it was too late for the issue to be affected. And here we are brought back to one of the many stirring stories of Protestant missions.

On a certain day in the early part of the last century, four weary Indians, differing in appearance from any before seen in that part of the country, appeared in the streets of St. Louis. They were Nez Perces,¹⁸ and their business was with General Clark, who had made the acquaintance of their people some years previously in the course of his famous expedition and had told them somewhat of "the Great Spirit" worshiped by the white man. They made further inquiries of white and half-breed trappers, who told them of the existence of a book in which the wisdom of "the Great Spirit" was written, and finally these four Indians had come, as ambassa-

¹⁸ Historians differ as to whether these Indians were Nez Perces or Flatheads, but the weight of evidence seems to point to their belonging to the former tribe.

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dors of their tribe, to obtain this "white man's book of the Great Spirit" of which they had heard. The four emissaries, it is recorded, after seeing the sights of St. Louis, started on their homeward journey without the information for which they had come; but the news of their mission went abroad, and in 1834 the Methodist Conference sent an answer to their appeal in the person of Jason Lee.

It happened, however, that Jason Lee never reached the country of the Nez Percés. On his way thither, near where the Willamette joins the Columbia River, he met John McLoughlin, who persuaded him that the Indians of the Willamette needed knowledge of the Great Spirit no less than the Nez Percés, while the French-Canadian hunters of the trading post, with their Indian wives and half-breed children, also stood in need of the consolations of religion and the benefits of education. Thus it was that Jason Lee decided to build his mission station in a beautiful valley above the falls of the Willamette, and thus was Christianity first brought to the Indian tribes of Oregon.

A year later the Rev. Samuel Parker and a young medical missionary, Marcus Whitman, were sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to explore the Oregon country. Dr. Whitman returned to New York with a favorable report, and in the following year, 1836, started again for the Northwest, carrying with him his Bible, his medicines and his young bride across the Rockies and the Blue Mountains to the centaur-like Wallawalla-Cayuses. With the Whitmans went another young couple, Henry and Eliza Spalding, who ultimately reached the Nez Percés in what is now the State of Idaho, bringing them that for which their emissaries had asked, the wisdom of "the Great Spirit." Whitman, after years of faithful work, died a martyr to the Indian massacre of 1847, known by his name, which was brought about by the encroachments of the ever-swelling tide of settlers and the spread among the Indians of diseases carried by the intruding white men.

The Whitman massacre was the prelude to the Indian war of 1848, and it was not until after treaties of peace had been

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signed, in 1855, that a majority of the Oregon Indians was placed on reservations. The end, however, was not yet, and peace was only finally established among these tribes after the defeat of the savage Modocs in the war that goes by their name in 1872-3.

Of the Indians over whom McLoughlin exercised his powerful sway, the remnants of some twenty-eight tribes are found to-day on six reservations.¹⁹ Their total number is only 4,301, distributed among 1,231 households, occupying a total area of 1,719,376 acres. Roseburg, which is not properly a reservation, but a district containing several scattered bands with allotments on the public domain, is excluded from this acreage. The five reservations proper are: Warm Springs, in Wasco County; Klamath, in the southern part of the State, at the eastern base of the Cascade Mountains; Siletz, on the Pacific Coast, in Lincoln County; Umatilla, in the northeastern part of the State, and Grande Ronde, between Yamhill and Polk counties. On three of these reservations the population has shown a decrease in the past ten years, due to infant mortality and influenza epidemics; on two it has been stationary, and on one there has been a slight increase.

Lakes and rivers, high mountains and deep canyons combine to make these reservations scenically beautiful, while the climate is generally healthful. The topography varies from mountainous, well-wooded country to clean, rich agricultural lands. The rainfall is abundant, except on the Klamath reservation, where an irrigation project is in process of development. Two railroads, the Oregon-Eastern (on Klamath) and the Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company (on Umatilla) connect the reservations with the great world, while other reservations are within easy reach of railroad points through stage line connections. There are also on the reservations 350 miles of fairly good roads. There are sixteen postoffices on, or in close vicinity to, the reservations, and five rural routes. The only urban center of any

¹⁹ For Reservation Summaries, see Appendix I, § VII.

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commercial importance is Pendleton, within easy reach of the Umatilla reservation.

Tribally the Indians are of Lutuamian (Klamath and Modoc), Shahaptian (Umatilla and Warm Springs), Salishan (Siletz), and Shastan stocks. Under the Siletz jurisdiction there are remnants of sixteen tribes; on the Klamath reservation, five; on Warm Springs, four, and on Umatilla, three. Umatilla has the largest population, with 1,167 Indians.

Oregon has the distinction of containing the largest Indian reservation in the Northwest, with the largest amount of timber upon it of any reservation in the United States. The Klamath reservation measures 1,020,986 acres, and contains 9,700,000,000 board feet of timber. Timber is also found on three other reservations, which add 150,000,000 board feet to the enormous resources of Klamath. This timber is available for use and is under the jurisdiction of the Indian Bureau, which means that it is protected from graft and plunder. Another distinction possessed by the State of Oregon is that it has within its borders, on the Umatilla reservation, the finest wheat-producing land in the United States. In addition to agriculture, stock-raising is a profitable industry, the Indians' possessions totalling 2,633 head of cattle, 5,710 horses, 620 sheep and 377 swine. Dairying and poultry-raising are also practiced to some extent, the former among the Siletz Indians. Other industries include fishing, berry- and hop-picking and basket-weaving. Forty-three Indians are employed in the Government Service. Generally speaking, there is little poverty, except on one reservation, and rations are given only to eighty-eight people.

In their family life the Oregon Indians as a whole compare favorably with the average white community. Legal marriages are usual, and but few divorces are recorded. Housing conditions are fair, frame or log dwellings being the rule. One-room houses are occupied by 112 families, but this is in the nature of a temporary expedient, and more and more, as the Indian children who have been away at school return to the reservations, better living conditions and more privacy are demanded. The epidemic diseases which marked the en-

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croachments of the early settlers and the first cultivation of the land have largely disappeared, and, the Oregon climate being favorable, health conditions are generally good. Less than 10 per cent. of the total population is affected by tuberculosis (on one reservation less than one-half of one per cent.), and trachoma is only menacing on one reservation, where 20 per cent. are affected. Medical service is accessible to all the Indians, and on two reservations there are field matrons.

Class distinctions are observable only among the Wallawalla and Cayuses (the tribes of the Whitman massacre), who live on the western part of the Umatilla reservation and are pagans, holding aloof from the other tribes. Among the rest there is a certain amount of intermarriage and little prejudice since, as a general rule, the Church and the schools are the two influential agencies of public opinion. Indian superstitions retain their hold on less than 10 per cent. of the population. Moral conditions have improved considerably since the days when the Oregon Indians were known far and wide as the "whiskey-drinking Indians." To-day the alcohol problem is pretty well in hand, an occasional "drunk" and a little bootlegging being the extent of its manifestations. Gambling, on the other hand, is prevalent on four reservations, and there is little systematic effort to check it. There is little prostitution, but too frequent adultery.

An interesting but very feeble effort to keep alive the old superstitions is the organization of the so-called "Feather Church," where the old religion is taught. The institution is, however, foredoomed to failure. The Indian dances are gradually dying out or assuming a commercial form which renders them harmless and puts them on a par with a circus or a Wild West show.

The successors of the little school for Indian children opened by Cyrus Shepard in 1834 now number twenty-seven. Six of these are Government schools; two are Roman Catholic missions,²⁰ and nineteen are public schools. It is a healthy sign that on two reservations the only schools available are public

²⁰ These are known as St. Andrew's (enrollment 58) and St. Joseph's (enrollment 8) and located on the Umatilla reservation.

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schools, and the percentage of illiteracy among the Indians is decreasing.

Of the Government day schools, one is at Warm Springs, two are on the Klamath²¹ and two on the Umatilla reservation. Three carry the first three grades; one the first five, and another includes the sixth. The total enrollment is eighty-nine. Religious affiliations are: Methodist, 18; United Presbyterian, 14; Presbyterian, 30; Roman Catholic, 12; Indian Shakers, 5. In one school religious instruction is given every Sunday.

The Warm Springs Government boarding school carries six grades and has an enrollment of 108, with only two teachers. Religious affiliations show: United Presbyterian, 84; Roman Catholic, 4; Indian Shakers, 15. Here, as in the day schools, the half-time system, by which the older pupils attend school for half the day and spend the other half at so-called janitor work, is a problem that calls for consideration. The system has been described by persons qualified to speak as "the greatest single impediment to good pedagogy in the Indian school system." There is a movement on foot to abolish this school and substitute day schools for it. A Sunday school is conducted at a chapel near the school.

The Klamath reservation boarding school²² is similar to the one at Warm Springs, except that the moral tone is on a lower plane. The enrollment is sixty. Religious affiliations show: Methodist, 56; Indian Shakers, 14. The Methodist missionary preaches once a week.

It seems evident from the above summary that the mission field in Oregon, already fruitful in results, is full of promise. A general gearing up of finances and a greater development of native leadership appear to be the principal problems of the immediate future. In regard to the latter, training institutes, as conducted among the Nez Perce Indians of Idaho, might be started during the winter months. There is also a field here for a young woman missionary, preferably one with a nurse's training, to work among the Indian women and children. In regard to the general church program, such concerted efforts as union meetings and annual camp meet-

²¹ Since this survey was made one school has been closed.

²² Indications point to the early relinquishment of this school on the part of the Government. Several day schools have already been given over to the county public school authorities on the Klamath reservation.

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ings under a trained evangelist, preferably a native, might be used to stimulate the spiritual life of the community, while emphasis could be placed on the churches and schoolhouses as radiating centers for programs that would attract the young people.²³

The seeds sown by Lee, Whitman and Spalding have borne such fruit that to-day all but a very few of the Oregon Indians have come under the influence of Christianity. At the present time there are five organized Protestant churches on the Oregon reservations, and one mission station not yet organized. There are also two Indian Shaker churches. The Roman Catholics carry on work among the Grande Ronde Indians,²⁴ and those under the Roseburg jurisdiction are so scattered that whatever church work is being done for them is from the point of view of the average white community.²⁵

The number of Protestant churches by reservations and denominations is as follows:

²³ The Survey Conferences held at Salem, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington, March, 1922, took the following action:

"(a) Whereas we have heard with regret of neglect as to the proper training of the young people in the western part of the Klamath reservation, and the need for more systematic and constructive work, we call upon the Joint Committee on Indian work of the Methodist Episcopal Church to extend its work on the Klamath reservation from the Williamson River—

"(1) By placing a field missionary, preferably a woman, with nurse's training;

"(2) By developing a properly supervised community program.

"(b) The strengthening of the missionary work of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., to cover unreached Indians on the eastern part of the Umatilla reservation.

"(c) The strengthening of the work of the United Presbyterians on the Warm Springs reservation by the placing of a woman missionary, preferably one with nurse's training, for work among the women and children.

"(d) For the Roseburg Jurisdiction and Grande Ronde reservation, we ask for State and district administrators responsible for the religious work of the denominations working in these areas, to confer as to the responsibility for mission work among these scattered groups of Indians, and that Dr. Boudinot Seeley, Synodical Superintendent of the Presbyterian Church, be asked to call the representatives together for this purpose."

²⁴ The Roman Catholics also have work on the Umatilla reservation, where they have a church. The number of adherents is 400. There is also a limited work at Siletz and Warm Springs.

²⁵ The Rogue River Indians, out from Roseburg, present an almost untouched field.

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RESERVATION	DENOMINATION	NUMBER
Warm Springs (including one mission)	United Presbyterian	2
Klamath ²⁶	Methodist Episcopal	2
Siletz	Methodist Episcopal	1
Umatilla	Presbyterian U. S. A.	1

The above figures give an average of 717 Indians to every church. Membership returns are available from only three churches. The total on these three rolls is 307, giving an average of 102 for each mission, a relatively high percentage. Eleven white persons only are included in the membership. Only one of the six pastors speaks the native language, but the others are assisted by interpreters. Two pastors serve three points each, one serves two points, and three serve one point each. Here, as elsewhere, salaries present a problem. The maximum is \$1,800; the minimum, \$750. All the churches have parsonages, and the total valuation of the equipment is \$22,600, an average of \$3,766.66. All the churches are receiving home mission aid in some form. Financial methods in all the churches are susceptible of improvement.

Four of the churches hold four services a month; two hold eight services; one holds one service a month. Of these Sunday services, five are in the morning, three in the afternoon, two in the evening. The average attendance per congregation is: morning, thirty-nine; afternoon, sixty-four; evening, sixty. Three churches make use of an interpreter; two use the English language exclusively; one uses the native tongue almost entirely. Two churches contribute toward the support of a native worker among their own people, the Umatillas paying the entire salary of their native worker. Four of the churches report Sunday schools, with a total enrollment of 261. There are also three women's organizations, three young people's organizations, and one temperance society.

The two Shaker ²⁷ churches are at Warm Springs and Klamath. The equipment is poor. The pastors, men of meager education, receive no salary, nor are collections taken. The total number of adherents is estimated at eighty, but no membership rolls are kept.

²⁶ In all, four stations, Klamath, Yainax, Beatty and Williamson River. One missionary serves two points.

²⁷ Further discussion of the Indian Shakers will be found in connection with the Washington Indians, below.

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III: *Indians of Washington*

SCATTERED RESERVATIONS

On a score of reservations scattered through the State of Washington, making up a total area of nearly 2,700,000 acres, live between 9,000 and 10,000 Indians, most of them of Salishan stock. The exact numbers are reported as 9,665, though the census of 1920 gave the Indian population of Washington as 9,060. The difference is probably accounted for by a number of non-reservation or mixed-blood Indians not being counted as Indians in the census. For the sake of convenience these people are usually divided into two main groups—the Puget Sound, or Coast, Indians, living on a number of smallish reservations, and the Inland Empire Indians, composed of groups gathered on three larger reservations which come geographically within the “Inland Empire.”

While all of the Puget Sound reservations have been allotted, and many of the Indians are living on their own allotments, still a considerable number are designated as non-reservation Indians, having taken up farms under the homestead laws or purchased land from whites. A number also are landless. The number of individual allotments is given as 7,437, and the number of citizens as 5,713. Those still under some form of Government supervision number 6,488. A slight increase is reported on nine reservations in the past ten years, and a decrease on four. The reservations, with their populations, are as follows: ²⁸

Queniult, 265; Chehalis, 120; Spokane, 639; Yakima, 2,933; Ozette, 10; Jamestown, 298; Quileute, 209; Neah Bay (Makah Indians), 428; Hoh, 38; Muckelshoot, 186; Colville, 2,518; Tulalip, 376; Nisqualli, 78; Fort Madison (Susquamish Tribe), 201; Lummi, 500; Port Gamble, 281; Swinomish, 226; Squaxon Island, 66; Skokomish, 250; Queets River, 43.

²⁸ The reservations are considered in more detail under “Reservation Summaries” in Appendix I, § VIII.

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In general, the reservations occupy mountainous country, and a number of them are heavily timbered. In one case, that of Queniult, the forest growth is so dense that it is not possible to mark out exact boundaries. Others, as Neah Bay and Quileute, are remote and almost inaccessible, situated on a rock-bound coast. The largest proportion of level land, about one-third, is probably on the Yakima reservation. On, or in the vicinity of the reservations are twenty-nine postoffices.

Minerals are found on two reservations only. On Colville, there is silver and lead, and gold has also been prospected for, though not much has been done in the way of development. On Spokane, copper, silver and lead are found, and there are forty mineral leases and one producing copper mine. Gas, oil and coal are believed to exist on one or two of the other reservations, but no actual prospecting has been done. Timber is abundant, covering 413,793 acres, with a stumpage value of \$4,600,677 on allotted lands, and 1,292,328 acres, with a stumpage value of \$12,092,378, on unallotted lands. Thirteen private and one Government sawmills are operating. The animal resources are: cattle, 8,145; horses, 4,607; sheep, 5,417; swine, 1,199; poultry, 5,412.

The principal sources of income vary with the reservations. Along Puget Sound fishing, especially for salmon, holds chief place, followed by berry-picking and dairying, while on the Spokane and Yakima reservations stock-raising and diversified farming are the most profitable occupations. Fruit-growing and truck-farming are found in a few communities. Logging, of course, affords employment to many, and the migrant labor includes work in canneries and lumber mills. Fifty-four Indians are employed by the Government Indian Service, and 152 women are engaged in basket-making. In general, the Indians are self-supporting, not more than 5 per cent. being affected by poverty, although occasional rations are given to the aged.

Two problems call for solution in the economic life of these people. The perpetual fishing rights given by Federal treaties to the Puget Sound Indians have been seriously interfered with by State officials, and this interference leads to frequent



PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR INDIAN CHILDREN

Above are some pupils of the public school on the Klamath Reservation, Oregon, where the enrollment is all Indian. Below are thirty-eight Yakima Indian and forty-five white children of the public school at White Swan, Washington. The man in the top picture is the Indian member of the school board.



A TYPICAL INDIAN CONGREGATION

Members of the Umatilla Presbyterian Church, Oregon



PIUTE GIRLS

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clashes with the authorities. Another situation that needs remedying is that of the homeless vagrants, such as the Port Gamble band, variously estimated at from 1,500 to 3,000 in number, whose condition is not unlike that of the non-reservation groups in California. A policy of colonization similar to that which has been successfully tried in Nevada might be worked out for these groups.

In their domestic relations and marriage customs, the Washington Indians observe the standards of the white people with whom they have for long been in contact. Practically all of them also dress in the white man's way and live in houses. These are usually adequate, except on the Colville reservation and in one or two remote places, where one-room shacks still prevail. Only on the Yakima reservation does the percentage of tuberculosis exceed 25, and trachoma is not prevalent. There are hospitals, with Government doctors, on only three of the reservations, but there are two field matrons on both Yakima and Colville.

Tribal feeling is noticeable only on the Colville reservation, where the Nez Perces do not get on particularly well with the other tribal groups, and the only social distinctions observable among the Indians are between the Christians and the Shakers. Race prejudice between whites and Indians arises only over the question of the Indian children attending the public schools. On eight reservations a certain amount of intermarriage is mentioned between Indians and whites. Of the social organizations the schools and churches are the most influential. Other community activities include three Indian dance-halls, nine moving-picture theaters, five Indian and twelve white pool-rooms. The Northwestern Federation of Indians may be mentioned as an interesting organization, social and political in character, which aims to focus public opinion upon Indian problems in the Coast region. There are also a Farmers' Grange, with a membership of eighty-four, on the Colville reservation, and a Tulalip Improvement Club and Fair Association.

Alcohol presents no serious problem on eight of the reservations, and on the others drunkenness is on the decrease.

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Gambling is reported among the men of five reservations. Prostitution is almost unknown. The old Indian dances occur on six reservations, those on Spokane, Yakima and Colville standing out prominently. In some of the more remote places there are still to be found a few adherents of the old Indian religion and superstitions, but in general the medicine man is not often called to ply his machinations among the Washington Indians.

The percentage of illiteracy among the Washington Indians is nowhere higher than 50, and on some reservations as low as 1½. There are twenty-four schools²⁹ on the reservations: one Government boarding school, eighteen Government day schools, two mission schools (Roman Catholic), as well as several public schools. Reports are available from only fourteen of the day schools, viz., Quileute reservation, 2; Chehalis, 1; Spokane, 3; Neah Bay, 1; Colville, 7.³⁰ These were all established between 1883 and 1920. In all but three instances, the first three grades only are carried. The total enrollment is 392. Religious affiliations show: Methodist, 6;

²⁹ An analysis of the school population and enrollment by reservations, showing also public school attendance, is here given:

Tulalip:	Government schools	237
	Public schools	162
	St. George (R. C.)	19
	Not in school	161
Taholah:	School population	302
	No Government schools.	
	All but 31 in public schools.	
Spokane:	2 Government day schools	36
	Public schools	172
Yakima:	School population	901
	Nearly all in public schools.	
Colville:	Government day schools	40
	Mission schools (R. C.)	30
	Public schools	585
Lummi:	1 Government day school	20
	Public school	41
Port Gamble:	1 day school	16
	40 of school age; new day school is contemplated.	
Jamestown:	1 day school	16
Neah Bay:	Day schools	120
	Public schools	50

³⁰ At present only 3; others have been closed since this survey was made.

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Presbyterian, 73; Roman Catholic, 82; Shakers, 35; Unattached, 196.

The Tulalip Training School, which is the Government boarding school, was originally established as a Roman Catholic Mission School, in 1858, but was put under Government control in 1901. The school, which is attractively situated on Puget Sound, carries the first six grades and employs a staff of twenty-two, including teachers, matrons, etc. In the total enrollment of 191 seven different tribes are represented. Religious affiliations show that only twenty-seven of the children are Protestants, the balance being Roman Catholic. Roman Catholics have for many years had the religious oversight of the pupils, but during the past two years Methodist missionaries from Everson have made visits, and in 1922 a regular program of work was launched for the Protestants.

THE INDIAN SHAKER RELIGION OF THE NORTHWEST

It will be convenient to touch here upon the curious combination of Christian principles and superstition known as the Indian Shaker Church, which has gained considerable hold among the Indians of Washington and Oregon. There would appear to be no elements of permanency in the Shaker churches, and the problem they present can safely be regarded as temporary only.

The founder was a Mud Bay Indian, John Slocum, who knew something of both Roman Catholic and Protestant church practices. In 1882 or 1883 he had drifted away from the Roman Catholic Church and fallen into sin. He was taken ill and is alleged to have died. After his spirit had left the body he is alleged to have had a vision and returned to life. He declared that Jesus had sent his soul back to his body in order that he might start a church for the Indians.

Slocum's original efforts were aimed at the moral elevation of his race. No good Shaker might use tobacco or liquor, and all must duly pay their debts. Since Slocum's day, however, various barbaric rites have become mingled with the



THE QUILEUTE INDIAN VILLAGE AND ITS CHAMPION SEAL HUNTER

The Quileute Indians are the most expert whale and seal hunters of any of the Pacific Coast. The type of native canoe shown in the lower picture is still used exclusively.

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original teachings. The Bible is not used at their services. These rites are exemplified particularly in the ceremonies attendant on efforts to heal the sick and to make Shaker converts. The Shakers do not believe in medical aid for the sick, but attempt to heal them with shakings and incantations. Occasionally an apparent cure is effected; more often the patient dies.

The Indian Shaker Church of Oregon was duly incorporated under the State law in 1917, the articles of incorporation alleging as the object of the church the promotion of most praiseworthy virtues. In Washington six Indian Shaker churches³¹ were organized between the years 1895 and 1914, as follows: Queniult, 2; Yakima, 2; Chehalis, 1; Neah Bay, 1. Four only have buildings and these are in poor condition. The preachers, who wear white robes, receive no salary, and no money is raised or spent. The ministers are all natives, and are wholly lacking in education. Apart from the regular Sunday services the churches have no other activities. The total membership is given as 246. In general, the Shaker churches simply represent the effort of an ignorant and superstitious people to find religious expression in crude and anthropomorphic forms.³²

MISSION WORK

The beginnings of missionary work in Washington date back to the coming of the Whitmans and the Spaldings to the Oregon country. There are seven Protestant mission stations on the reservations, six of them organized, as follows: Queniult, Presbyterian, U. S. A.; Puyallup, Presbyterian, U. S. A.; Nooksak, Methodist Episcopal; Spokane, Presbyterian, U. S. A. (2); Neah Bay, Presbyterian, U. S. A. (unor-

³¹ From which reports were available. Organizations are reported also at Quileute, Jamestown, Muckelshoot, Port Gamble, Swinomish and Tulalip.

³² Shakerism can be laid to the door of the Church's neglect in not adequately providing wholesome avenues of religious expression for these northwestern tribes.

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ganized);³³ Yakima, Methodist Episcopal.³⁴ These churches were organized at various times between 1860 and 1912.³⁵

Each mission has a church building, the total valuation being \$12,800, while the value of the six parsonages is given at \$7,500. Home mission aid is received by all of them. With greater enterprise financially, the Spokane churches could probably be made self-supporting in five years, and also the Methodist mission at Yakima. Five of the churches contribute to missions and benevolences. The collections from four churches whose records are available total \$943.15. The total membership is 303 (including twenty adherents of the Neah Bay missions), an average of forty-three per mission. The net number of active members is given as 215. Twelve white people only are members of these churches. The net gain in membership during the past year was sixteen. Preaching services are held every Sunday, except in one case. Three churches have evening service, and four afternoon. The average attendance at morning service is forty-two per congregation. One church has a mid-week prayer service. Five missionaries serve a total of twelve points. The missionary at Everson has five points under his charge, namely, Nooksak, Tulalip School, Swinomish, Upper Skagit and Lummi. There are no native ministers in charge in any of these fields. Five churches report Sunday schools, with an average attendance of seventy-two per school, and there are one women's society and two Christian Endeavor societies.

The Roman Catholics have work on five reservations. At Spokane the priest comes occasionally, reaching only a few Indians on the northeastern corner of the reservation. On the Yakima reservation there is one mission station at White Swan, where services are held for whites and Indians once a month. The priest lives off the reservation, at Toppenish. Three hundred adherents are claimed for this field. The Colville reserva-

³³ Organization has recently been effected at Neah Bay.

³⁴ At White Swan on the Yakima reservation the United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ has recently (1921) undertaken the special task of providing a home for the boys and girls attending the public schools. In purpose and scope it is similar to the Esther Home at Lawrence, Kansas, supported by the Methodists and offering a home atmosphere for Indian girls attending the State University and the City Highschool.

³⁵ At the time this survey was made there was no definite Protestant missionary work on the Colville reservation. Since then the Methodists have entered the field, following the allocation of responsibility as made by the Yonkers Conference, 1920, and report a church building and parsonage at Nespelem; also six organized Sunday schools (with average attendance of 40) and six preaching points.

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tion was allotted to the Roman Catholics under the Grant Peace Policy. At present there are two resident priests here, with regular services at one mission and itinerant services at four others. There is a boarding school with a capacity of 100 and an enrollment of thirty-two, and a small school on the old reservation further north with an attendance of twenty-six. At Muckelshoot is a small chapel, with one Sunday service, and Tulalip has been for a number of years the center for other mission work to Puget Sound Indians centering at the Tulalip School.³⁶

³⁶ Among the Puget Sound Indians reached by the Catholic Missions are the following tribes: Snohomish, Clallam, Nisqualli, Lummi, Swinomish and Puyallup.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSIONS

Those responsible for the survey of the American Indian believe that, for the most part, the facts recorded in the foregoing pages tell their own story. Certainly to friends of the Indian, they will speak with sufficient eloquence, carrying their own recommendations. As the story has unfolded itself, an effort has been made to supplement the facts revealed with constructive suggestions for improvement. The major conclusions of the survey have, therefore, already been given in previous chapters alongside of the information on which they are based. Nevertheless, there emerge certain outstanding features of the Indian problem which may well be summarized for final emphasis. Christian and patriotic duty alike urge Church and State in no uncertain accents to "give the Red Man his portion." It is no criticism of the present enlightened policy of the Indian Bureau, or of the faithful efforts of Indian missionaries, to say that payment of the debt owing to the Indian has been too long deferred. It calls for settlement through a steady and constructive program of advance, in place of the sporadic efforts of the past, often followed by timid policies of retrenchment.

The following may be emphasized as the principal elements to be included in a statesmanlike program:

I: GRADUAL ADVANCE FROM VIRTUAL WARDSHIP TO FULL CITIZENSHIP

To speak of "Americanizing" the original American has an ironic sound. Yet this must be the goal of Indian policy, the absorption of the Indian into the body politic. Full citizenship, with all its privileges and obligations, is a logical step in this direction. Tribalism cannot long endure. At the same time, experience has taught that there are many pitfalls in the

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way of Indian citizenship. The slogan "unrestricted citizenship at once" is unwise and detrimental to the best interests of the Indian. Gradual release from Governmental supervision is the policy which wisdom recommends. No satisfactory method of determining competency has yet been evolved, but it is evident that education and demonstrated ability should be prerequisites to unrestricted citizenship. It is desirable, therefore, that a carefully devised method for determining competency should be worked out. In the meanwhile, it would appear preferable that the Competency Commissions and others charged with a similar responsibility should make a few mistakes than that the progress of the Indian toward full citizenship should be retarded by an excess of caution.

II: SUPPRESSION OF DISEASE AND AN EFFECTIVE HEALTH PROGRAM

The prevalence of tuberculosis and trachoma among the various tribes and reservations was carefully investigated by the survey. It was found that the medical arm of the Indian Bureau, which for a score of years has rendered valiant service, is at the present time greatly handicapped as a result of reduced personnel and the general disorganization following the war. The suggestion that the entire Medical Division of the Indian Bureau be placed under the Public Health Service has the approval of many high officials. While difficulties of supervision would no doubt arise, a closer coöperation between state and county agencies could thus be worked out than is now possible. A further recommendation for the change is that it would mark another step forward in the direction of assimilation. The coöperation of whites and Indians in promoting sanitary conditions in Indian communities would be mutually helpful to both.

III: EMANCIPATION FROM HARMFUL PRACTICES

The use of alcohol and peyote, the indulgence in degrading dances and the extent of sexual immorality, or non-morality,

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received special attention in the course of the survey. These matters were discussed with sympathetic understanding at the various survey conferences, by those who face such problems daily on the Indian reservations as well as by others who have the perspective of distance. There was unanimous agreement that the coöperation of all agencies working in the Indian field is essential to a successful attack on these problems. Good results are promised from the present coöperation of Government and missionary agencies in an effort to deal with peyote and the Indian dances. It should be remembered, however, that mere negations and blanket prohibitions are not enough. Any remedial policy must include the recognition that evils of this character cannot be cured unless more wholesome activities are substituted for them. A program should be formulated which would make provision for recreation, education in hygiene and the expression of social life in terms which the Indian can understand and appreciate.¹

IV: ADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

The importance of education as a preparation for citizenship is axiomatic. As applied to the Indian it was thus expressed in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1921: "Every child of every nationality in this country is entitled to an opportunity to get an education." Much has already been accomplished in Indian education, and the survey shows that the percentage of illiteracy is steadily decreasing on every reservation. The ultimate goal, as has been pointed out in previous chapters, is the enrollment of all Indian children in the public schools. In the meantime not all

¹ In order to give concreteness to treatment of the peyote evil the Conference of Christian Workers Among Indians, Sioux Falls, S. D., April, 1922, took the following action: "Whereas peyote eating is found to be a great detriment to the Sioux and other Indian people, and Whereas, it is reported that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has received information that peyote is a drug similar to morphine and cocaine in its effects, therefore, Be it resolved that this Conference strongly endorse any action on the part of the Government to regulate the sale and importation of peyote by amendment of the Pure Food and Drug Laws." For action Indian dances, see under Rosebud, Ch. XI, § IV.

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the children are yet capable of taking their places in such schools, and educational facilities are urgently needed for the 20,000 Indian children, 7,000 of whom are Navajos,² who are at present not in school. The Government school system needs revitalizing and the most progressive leaders among the Indians themselves realize that for at least a generation, to quote the Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1920, "the serviceable and well-located non-reservation boarding schools should be maintained, generously equipped, and provided with skillful, experienced and well paid superintendents, teachers and employees." Well trained teachers of home economics, agriculture and the mechanical trades seem especially difficult to obtain, while nurses are also scarce. Indian young people, properly encouraged and aided, could be educated to fill many of these positions. It has been made evident also in the course of the survey that the mission schools have a place to fill for some time to come. Any retrenchment in educational missions among Indians at this time would be exceedingly unwise.

V: EVANGELIZATION OF PAGAN TRIBES AND PORTIONS OF TRIBES HERETOFORE UNREACHED BY CHRISTIAN AGENCIES³

The survey has made clear that, although isolated instances of duplication of effort may be found, not overlapping but neglect is the sin of the Protestant churches in their Indian mission work. The needs of these unreached groups and the Church's responsibility for them have long been recognized. It became, therefore, the chief task of the twelve conferences at which the results of the survey were discussed to formulate definite requests that different mission boards should extend or strengthen their work on different reservations. Already

² See under Navajos, Ch. X^{II}, § II.

³ The term "unreached" includes areas where there are (1) Pagan Indians for whom no provision has been made by either Protestant or Roman Catholic missionary agencies, and (2) tribes or portions of tribes *partially* reached either by Protestants or Roman Catholics, where the work needs immediate strengthening and where some readjustments seem necessary.

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new fields have been entered and others greatly strengthened. The carrying out of the various allocations will call for thorough-going comity and coöperation, for wise insight and unselfish devotion on the part of all churches and societies concerned.

VI: MISSIONARY PERSONNEL

In increasing the missionary forces quantitatively up to the strength demanded by the situation, every care should be taken to see that there is no impairment in quality. No people in the world are quicker than the Indians to recognize sham and insincerity in all their ramifications or to resent a patronizing spirit. Nor are any people in the world, as that veteran missionary, Dr. Riggs, always maintained, more polite than the Indians, more genuinely forgetful of self and thoughtful for others. It is essential, therefore, that those who work among them should be at least their equals in these respects. In addition, the missionary to the Indian should have a sufficiently robust faith in God and man to enable him to heed the warning once uttered by Bishop Burleson: "We have hesitated to give responsibility. We have felt the white man must hold things in his own hand. We have not been willing to trust God with the souls of other people."

VII: A PROGRAM OF APPLIED SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

It has been pointed out how the old Indian religion of the Indian entered into every phase of his life. Hence he is unable to understand a Christianity which is not in some way related to his ordinary comings and goings, to his home life and his community life. The Indian, moreover, is at once gregarious and individualistic. He likes the company of his fellows, but he lacks the Anglo-Saxon genius for social organization. The Church is in a position to supply what the Indian lacks in the way of organizing ability and in doing so to conserve and rightly direct his religious instincts and his gregarious tendencies. The need of establishing social and com-

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munity centers at strategic points has been repeatedly shown by the survey. Of late years rural church programs have been put to the test of practical experiment in many country communities, and programs of this type might readily be adapted to meet the special needs of the Indian mission field.

VIII: RETURNED STUDENTS

Closely connected with the above is the question of recreational and social activities for young people, and especially for the Indian youth of both sexes returning from non-reservation schools. In the schools they have become accustomed to organizations of a literary, social or religious character, for the conduct of which they were themselves in some measure responsible. Probably, also, they have heard good preaching in the English language. Upon their return to the reservation, whether for the summer recess or permanently after graduation, they miss the recreational activities to which they have been used, and it may be they find the sermon of the earnest but poorly educated native pastor somewhat uninspired. Two perfectly natural consequences ensue: they give up going to church and they seek out whatever forms of recreation are most readily available. These are usually the native dance or neighboring pool-rooms and moving-picture shows. The survey has revealed a striking lack of sustained effort in behalf of the returned students. It is, for instance, a significant fact that in 597 Indian churches, only 137 young people's societies are reported. No part of the program recommended under VII is more important than that which will provide social and recreational facilities for this class.

IX: RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The evidence of the survey shows that native Indian churches have as a rule been weak in promoting vigorous Sunday school work. This weakness has doubtless been due, in part at least, to the absence of the children at boarding schools, on and off the reservations. There has consequently been

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little incentive to conduct Sunday schools for a scattered few, and when the children return in the summer little or no provision is made for their needs during the short period in which they are generally permitted to remain at home. With an increasing number of Indian children attending public schools and others enrolled in Government day schools, this condition should soon be radically changed and enough children will be available to encourage a vigorous Sunday school program in all the churches.

Of equal importance is the religious education program of the schools. The "Uniform Course of Study" for Government schools is constantly being revised and adapted by educators to meet the needs of the young people. It goes without saying that a program of religious education should be worked out with equal care. Material is needed which is adapted to those to whom the teachings of Christianity are new. Directors of religious work should be placed in the larger schools, and for these and for the smaller schools a program should be worked out which will meet the needs of the young people, and which will be based on a psychological knowledge of their development during these most impressionable years. An opportunity for self-expression should be given to the young people through organized work which they can carry on both for their own Christian development and as a training for leadership in pointing out the way to others.

X: COÖPERATION

The comparative infrequency of cases of overlapping on Indian reservations has already been noted. Religious denominationalism is not strong among Indians unless nourished by white leaders. Nevertheless, the survey has disclosed a lack of correlation of effort and activity by denominations on a given reservation (if it be large) or in sections where the Indian communities are numerous. There is need not only for reservation-wide, but for inter-reservation religious coöperation. It would be a simple matter to establish religious councils which would help to create a closer bond of union on the

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part of all agencies when discussing common tasks. Three such councils are already operating with gratifying results and with the approval of Christian Indians and of denominational leaders.⁴

XI: NATIVE CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP

With fewer than 300 native pastors who give their full time to their work, and not many of these with college training, to man the churches, the need is urgent not only for an increased personnel, but for a better trained ministry. The Indian people have reached a point now where they need intellectual as well as spiritual guidance. This will not be provided until better educational facilities and higher remuneration for those who have taken advantage of them are available. An effort was made by the survey to discover the average salary of a native Indian pastor. It was, however, unable to obtain information sufficiently accurate to form the basis even of an estimate. A large number of native pastors give only part time to the ministry. Many receive no salary at all, others a small fee for a Sunday service. From the information obtained, however, the statement may safely be made that \$45 or \$50 a month is regarded as a not unhand-some salary for a native Indian pastor, while a large number, even of full-time ministers, receive only half or less than half of that sum. An essential step toward obtaining a better trained native ministry is the payment of a salary on which a man educated to some degree of refinement can live and educate a family.

Emphasis should be placed upon native leadership. The native Indian understands better the limitations, the antagonisms, the undercurrent of thought, the passions and virtues

⁴ These councils are:

(1) Western Oklahoma: for missionaries among Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, Kiowas, Wichitas and Apaches.

(2) New York State: Interdenominational Council for New York Indians.

(3) South Dakota: Continuation Committee involving Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal churches working among the Sioux.

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of his own people. At the large Government schools, where as many as sixty-five different tribes may be represented, the most popular, the most welcome and the most effective speakers are the native leaders who visit the institutions from time to time. The voice of the native leader is also listened to on the reservations. The influence of the peyote worship and of the Indian dances can usually be traced back to the following commanded by a native leader. The Church has been slow to recognize that "the way of the swiftest approach to a people is through the native Christian leader."

This leadership must, however, be *trained*. Educational facilities should be greatly improved so as to furnish a broad and liberal education. The majority of the Indian schools do not go above the sixth grade, while an eighth or tenth grade certificate is too commonly regarded as constituting a rounded education for an Indian youth. If leaders of the race are to be found in sufficient numbers the young people must be encouraged to aspire higher than this. State and denominational colleges, normal and agricultural schools, nurses' training courses, Bible schools and theological seminaries in various parts of the country are open to Indian young people. What is lacking, however, is the opportunity to take the high-school or college preparatory work which is an essential preliminary to the higher education. Few Indian schools or communities provide this intermediate course of study. Scholarships for Indians and opportunities for them to "work their way" through both preparatory school and college are much needed, and the provision of these should receive serious consideration by the churches which are looking for adequate native leadership.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

RESERVATION SUMMARIES

(In certain sections of Part II, two or more reservations were considered jointly. The following summaries of individual reservations are confined to such cases.)

I: *New York*

CATTARAUGUS:

Touching Cattaraugus, Erie and Chautauqua counties. Area 26,680 acres. Population 1,375, mainly Senecas.

Roughly, about two-thirds of the land is tillable, but of this only about one-third is actually cultivated, or an average of about three and one-third acres per capita. There are no stores on the reservation, but several trading points in various directions are within easy reach. Three lines of railroad cross the northwestern portion of the reservation and have stations upon it.

There are five churches on the reservation, viz., Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and a Presbyterian chapel as an out-station. The Baptist church has a native pastor who has been on the field twenty-five years, though not giving full time to the ministry. The Methodist Episcopal church, organized in 1854, is ideally situated for religious work. The Presbyterian church (established 1823) and the out-station are served by the same missionary. At Newtown is a pagan community of about 300 persons, which has long been the despair of Christian effort. This calls for a concentration of Christianizing effort with an attractive community program.

ALLEGANY:

On southwestern border of New York State. Area 30,469 acres. Population 943, mainly Senecas.

One-third (281) of the Indians here are still pagan, although the reservation has known missionary effort for more than a century. There are three Presbyterian churches and one Baptist on

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the reservation. The oldest church is the Presbyterian, at Jimmersonstown, where missionary work was established in 1843. The Baptist church is at Red House, on leased land, where Indians and whites are close neighbors. Mention should be made here of the splendid educational work of the Friends. The desirability of centralizing the Christian forces under one denomination should be considered, and social service and religious education should furnish the chief items in a forward-looking program.

TONAWANDA :

Between Akron and Batavia, east of Buffalo. Area 7,549 acres. Population 581, mostly Senecas.

Twenty per cent. of the population is pagan, and the Indian Council is controlled by this element, which is bitterly opposed to progressive ideas. There are three churches, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist. The two former are served by unordained native preachers and the last by an occasional minister from an outlying town. The Methodist and Baptist churches are within a few hundred feet of each other, the former having eighteen members and the latter thirty-four. The Presbyterian church (founded 1868), situated in the heart of the pagan district, has been served during the last ten years by a native elder. Organized Sunday schools are needed, as is also a resident nurse to give full time to instruction in hygiene and sanitation. A coöperative community center, with Methodists and Baptists uniting, would be a forward step in the right direction.

TUSCARORA :

In Niagara County, not far from the Falls. Area 6,249 acres. Population 513 Indians, 21 whites.

This reservation is unique in New York in that there is no pagan element. The Indians are progressive and industrious. They have good farms and fine orchards. The land is held tribally. There is a temperance society with a membership of seventy-five. There are two churches, Baptist and Presbyterian, but the latter is practically abandoned. The Baptist church, with a native preacher who has been there forty-five years, is thriving and practically self-supporting. More than half the Indian population attends the church with fair regularity, and the whole reservation is influenced by it. The church has a unique budget system, which works well, the collection for each Sunday in the

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month being devoted to a specific part of the church's needs. What is needed is a great educational impulse, and a strong social and community center to deepen and widen the scope and character of the church's work.

ONONDAGA :

Near Syracuse, Onondaga County. Area 6,100 acres. Population 510, mostly Onondagas.

Farming and dairying are the principal occupations in the valley land. The Indians also own a stone quarry, which is leased to white operators. Seventy-five per cent. of the Indians are pagan, or under pagan influence, and this element in the past has always controlled the politics of the reservation, electing the chiefs and making things uncomfortable for Christians. An interesting development has, however, taken place since this survey was made. The returned students have joined forces with the Christians, overthrown the chief's government, and established an Onondaga republic with democratic features. Religious conditions are in a state of readjustment. There are three churches, Episcopalian, Methodist and Wesleyan (the last representing a schism in the Methodist church), with a total membership of not more than 150, and financial support amounting to the creditable sum of \$3,100. The reservation is overchurched and centralization is needed. Instances of interlocking membership are found.

ST. REGIS-MOHAWK :

In Franklin and St. Lawrence counties. Area 14,640 acres. About 1,000 Indians live over the Canadian line. Population on United States side 1,613.

The principal industries are farming, fishing, basket-making and a certain amount of cattle-raising. There are 145 farms on the reservation. Liquor is a serious problem on account of the proximity to the Canadian border, and bootlegging is a thriving and respected industry.

There are four district schools available. In the past these have been poorly equipped and unattractive but they are now being improved as rapidly as possible. Although the Canadians have had a good school building and have employed competent teachers there were, until 1921, no adequate facilities on the United States side. In that year, however, a beautiful old house was taken in Hogsburg, on the border of the reservation, and was remodeled as a consolidated school under the name of the

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Mohawk School. A bus line brings in children from the neighborhood and the enrollment (1922) is 135, with five teachers, of whom one, a Cornell graduate, is a teacher of agriculture and assistant farm bureau manager.

The Indians are largely Roman Catholic, though the church is over the boundary line in Canada. The membership claimed (in United States and Canada) is more than 1,000. There is only one Protestant church, Methodist Episcopal, with a membership of eighty and Protestant adherents numbering possibly 200. The church has a vigorous program under the able leadership of a minister, who is an educated St. Regis Indian. It was the first church in New York State to go "over the top" in the Centenary drive. Its future is bright with promise and it should be made a social and educational center, with library and club equipment.

CORNPLANTER :

In Warren County, Pa., adjoining Allegany reservation. Area 640 acres. Population 98, all Senecas.

All these Indians are nominally Christian and progressive. There is one day school and one church, Presbyterian, with a membership of thirty-five, the minister living at Salamanca. There are twenty-four families in the parish.

SHINNECOCKS ON LONG ISLAND :

The Shinnecocks formerly lived in what is now western Long Island. The survivors are largely mixed with negro blood and live in the township of Southampton on a reservation of 450 acres. The census gives their number as 200. They have their own church (Presbyterian) and pastor.

II: *Chippewas of Wisconsin*

LAC DU FLAMBEAU :

In parts of Vilas, Iron and Oneida counties. Area 68,814 acres, of which 41,586 are allotted. Population 796.

All of this reservation, which is the home of the Lac du Flambeau band of Chippewa Indians, is cut-over timber land. There are, however, still nine million feet of standing timber. Only a small portion of the land has been cleared, and the farms cultivated by the Indians, on which they raise garden truck, do

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not average more than five acres. The chief source of income is from the manufacture of articles from birch bark, buckskin and reed.

The morals of the Indians have suffered considerably from contact with the white workers in a sawmill which was formerly operated here. The situation has improved a little since prohibition, but formerly both men and women were heavy drinkers and immorality was rife. The old superstition retains a strong hold on from 50 to 75 per cent. of the Indians. Indian dances, accompanied by the pernicious giving of gifts, are frequent and productive of the usual results. The Indians, although not actively antagonistic, are apathetic to the efforts of the church and it exerts little influence in shaping the affairs of the community.

LAC COURT D'OREILLE:

In Sawyer County. Area 68,939. Population 1,280, of which 205 are citizens without restriction.

This reservation consists of rolling timber land plentifully interspersed with lakes and streams. Only small plots of land are under cultivation and wages received for labor constitute the chief source of income, while berry-picking, fishing, guiding and some native industries add to the revenue of the Indians.

These people have the unfortunate reputation of being the most immoral of all the northern Indians. The prevalence of marital infidelity has already been noted. Indian dances, encouraged by the summer tourists, are on the increase, with the usual results in idleness and general demoralization. At least 25 per cent. of the Indians are adherents of the old Indian religion.

A Catholic and a Presbyterian church have been serving this community but the latter had been closed for nearly a year when the survey was made (1921).¹ The Presbyterian church, when active, was credited with having 160 members, while the Catholic church is said to have 440 members on its roll. These figures, however, are thought to be somewhat generous. In any case they would leave more than 600 Indians unaffiliated with any church. At the Catholic church services are only held when the priest is at home and his duties in connection with other churches take him away a considerable portion of the time. It is noteworthy that many of the Catholics and Presbyterians still take part in the pagan ceremonies and dances.

¹ In the neighborhood of White Fish Lake is a band of 600 Indians, largely pagan. Some Christian tourists have attempted to maintain a Sunday school here for several years. This part of the reservation is in urgent need of permanent missionary effort.

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RED CLIFF:

In Bayfield County. Area 13,850 acres, all allotted. Population 521.

The whole of this reservation, which consists of a narrow strip of land running along Lake Superior for a distance of nearly thirty-five miles, is cut-over timber land which is being cleared off slowly and made available for agriculture. The establishment of an excelsior mill at Bayfield has made possible the selling of heretofore worthless stumps and small trees. From this industry the Indians derive a considerable portion of their income and it also encourages them to make farms out of their land. Other industries are fishing and trapping.

The reservation has for years been open to settlement, and whites and Indians mingle together with little distinction. The only school on the reservation is a Government day school housed in two rooms rented from the Catholic mission, but there are also three district schools only a few miles away which Indians may attend. The Government day school has done good work under three Catholic Sisters who act as teachers and housekeepers. Hot noon lunches are served to forty-four pupils who attend. Nevertheless, the time is approaching when a regular district school should take the place of the present Government school.

The Catholic church is the only church at work on this reservation and all of the 521 members of the tribe are regarded as adherents. The priest resides at Bayfield. These people are voting citizens and are rapidly becoming assimilated with the white population.

BAD RIVER, OR LA POINTE:

In Ashland and Iron counties. Area 124,833 acres, of which all but 10,519 acres are allotted. Population 1,097.

The extreme northern part of the reservation is mainly swamp land and every spring the community at Odanah is flooded. This, perhaps, is largely responsible for the prevalence of tuberculosis, which affects 32 per cent. of the population.

The old Indian religion, although still exercising a considerable influence upon the older people, is rapidly losing its hold as the Indians have come into daily contact with the white people engaged in the milling operations. Inter-marriage between Indians and whites is very frequent. The Catholic and Methodist

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churches both have a mission at Odanah, where also mission schools are conducted. Additional educational facilities are offered by one public school and one district school at Odanah. The Congregationalists also have a station but this is primarily for the worship of the white people.

III: *Chippewas of Minnesota*

NETT LAKE:

Between Koochicking and St. Louis counties. Area 56,782 acres, all allotted. Population 589.

Many of the Bois Fort band of Chippewas, living on this beautiful lake, gather together for at least a portion of the year in a village. The majority make their living by hunting, fishing and trapping. A certain amount of their timber land has been allotted but little of the proceeds has been used for improving the land. Generally speaking, however, living conditions are fair and a large number of roomy log houses have been erected in recent years.

The Roman Catholics and the Methodist Episcopal Church are at work on this reservation, the former, however, not being very active. The native Methodist minister lives on the reservation and is influential with both Christian and pagan members of his tribe. The old pagan religion is still alive, especially among the older people, but there is no hostility towards Christianity and a progressive Christian program might accomplish much among the younger people.

RED LAKE:

In Beltrami County. Area 543,528 acres, all unallotted. Population 1,545.

Most of the Red Lake Chippewas living on this, the only Indian reservation still intact in the State of Minnesota, dwell along the shores of the lake on account of the opportunity afforded for fishing. Perhaps half of the Indians possess garden plots in which vegetables and small grains are raised. Logging in the winter and working in the sawmills in the summer give occupation to a number of them. The standing timber on the reservation is estimated at 150,000,000 board feet. Postoffices are situated at Redby, Red Lake and Ponemah.

Both economic and moral conditions of these Indians are com-

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plicated by the debate as to whether their land should be allotted or not. The majority at the present time, supported by the Roman Catholic missionary, is opposed to allotments, and however unfortunate this attitude may be in the long run the Indians can hardly be blamed for their hesitancy in view of the wrongs perpetrated on the White Earth reservation when allotments were sold there a number of years ago. Another bone of contention is the trust fund of the Minnesota Chippewas, which amounts to between \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000. The point with the Red Lake Indians is that they regard themselves as a separate band from the other Chippewas and wish to be treated as such by the Government. It would appear that the only feasible plan for distributing this money would be to divide it per capita among the Chippewa Indians, but with ample provision for Government control in the cases of those who are manifestly incompetent.

The Christians and pagans of this band are divided geographically, the former living on the south shore of the lake and the latter in the neighborhood of the Cross Lake School. The latter section is practically unreached by either the Roman Catholics or the Episcopalians, who are at work on this field, and the opportunity for an active missionary program radiating from Cross Lake boarding school is obvious. The Episcopalians have two churches among the south shore Indians, both in charge of native missionaries. In this section also is located a Government contract boarding school, Roman Catholic in tone and similar to the St. Francis boarding school on the Rosebud reservation. The strengthening of the Protestant leadership in this field combined with a strong social program appears desirable.

LEECH LAKE:

In Cass County. Area 48,520 acres, all allotted. Population 1,738.

Included under this jurisdiction are Cass Lake and White Oak Point. Only a small acreage is under cultivation on account of difficulties in clearing the land. The reservation contains 5,750,000 board feet of standing timber and a number of the Indians work in logging camps in winter and in sawmills in summer. A good deal of bead work and some lace work are done by the women.

The old pagan religion is very active on this reservation, affecting probably 40 per cent. The field is occupied by the Roman Catholics and the Protestant Episcopal Church.

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FOND DU LAC:

In Carlton County. Area 36,886 acres, all allotted. Population 1,150.

This reservation lies right in the heart of the area devastated by the forest fire of 1919. At that time a number of the Indians lost their homes and the effects of the fire can still be seen on a large part of the reservation. A certain amount of farming is carried on and if a number of swamps were drained—a feat which presents small difficulty—valuable agricultural land would be made available. Logging in the winter and mill work in summer provide occupation for many of the Indians. Transportation is poor, and the consequent difficulty of marketing farm products tends to discourage the Indians from agriculture.

The Roman Catholics are practically in undisputed occupation of this field, claiming 95 per cent. of the population as baptized adherents. The only Protestant work is at Sawyer, Minnesota, where there is a Methodist Episcopal church holding occasional services.

VERMILLION LAKE:

In St. Louis County. Area 1,080 acres, all unallotted. Population 50.

Since the closing of the Government school most of the Indians, who used to be numerous on this reservation, have moved away. When the school was in operation both Roman Catholic and Methodists held services for the benefit of the children. There is, however, no church building here and no Protestant work is done at the present time. The old Indians are principally pagan while the younger ones are Roman Catholics.

GRAND PORTAGE:

In Cook County. Area 24,191 acres, all allotted.

The Indians of this reservation are divided into three groups, about 130 living east of Grand Marais at Chippewa Village; about 110 at Grand Portage and the balance on the Fort William reservation in Ontario, Canada. The land is poor but there are some good tracts of timber. None of the Indians, however, live on their allotments nor would these support them. They support life principally by trapping and fishing and waiting for the Government remittances. The Roman Catholic Church has this field to itself, having begun missionary work here in 1830.

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WHITE EARTH:

In Mahnomen, Clearwater and Becker counties. Area 719,955 acres, all allotted except 1,990 acres. Population 6,589.

This is the largest of all the Chippewa reservations. The western half is practically prairie but on the eastern half is found a considerable amount of timber. The Indian population is composed of various bands of Chippewas who are largely Canadian and French mixed-bloods. Only 693 Indians are in the "supervised" class. Between 1906 and 1909 the advocates of the "turn-all-the-Indians-loose-at-once" policy had full sway on the White Earth reservation and thousands of these people were scandalously separated from their lands. To-day more than 600,000 acres, which formerly were part of the reservation domain, are owned by white men. The record of the past fourteen years has been a dark one and has left its impress on the lives of the White Earth Chippewas. Those now left on the reservation are, for the most part, working for the white people who bought their lands.

In view of the treatment that has been accorded them it is hardly surprising that many of the White Earth Indians have lost faith in the white man generally. There are five Protestant Episcopal churches and chapels and one Methodist Episcopal mission on the White Earth reservation. The Episcopal mission boarding school at Pine Point was sold to the Government following 1900, when the contract mission schools were closed. The Roman Catholics, however, still have their contract mission boarding school, known as St. Benedict's, on this reservation. There is no resident white missionary on the White Earth reservation and more adequate supervision of the churches is needed if there is to be a revival of the splendid work that was carried on under Archdeacon Gilfillan from 1873 to 1898.

IV: Nevada

DUCK VALLEY:

In Nevada and Idaho. Also known as Western Shoshone. Area 321,920 acres, all unallotted. Population 671 (Paiutes and Shoshonis).

The Indians here are generally self-supporting, cattle-raising being their chief source of income, while a number are engaged in ranch work. Sixty-five per cent. are influenced, either wholly

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or in part, by the old religion. The work of the Presbyterian mission which has been here since 1912 has been recently extended with a view to reaching these groups as well as providing religious education for the pupils in the day schools.

FORT MC DERMOTT :

In Humboldt County. Area 1,015 acres. Population 225.

Wretched housing conditions, which breed tuberculosis, dire poverty and a complete absence of missionary work of any kind combine to make this reservation the worst in Nevada. Ninety miles from the nearest railroad, it is a remote outpost on the frontier, cut off from civilization. Every phase of missionary work is urgently needed, but as yet no church has been willing to assume responsibility for this neglected field.²

PYRAMID LAKE :

In Washoe County. Area 322,000 acres, all unallotted. Population 545.

Irrigation has recently opened up some 3,000 acres of this reservation to cultivation and efforts have been made to provide the Indians with farming implements. Health conditions are good. The Episcopalians have had a mission here since 1895, and though it is estimated that there are still 200 pagan Indians on the reservation the future of the field is considered promising. It is believed that the work of the woman missionary would be greatly assisted by having an ordained clergyman in charge of the station.

WALKER RIVER :

In Mineral County. Area 37,760 acres. Population 804.

Ranch work, fishing and wood-cutting in the winter employ a number of men, and about 100 women are engaged in basket-

² This field was allocated to the Congregationalists at the Wallace Lodge Conference, September, 1920. This action was further supplemented by the Sacramento Survey Conference, held March, 1922, which reads:

"We recommend that the Congregationalists further develop the work at Camp McCrary, Nevada, in connection with their work at Fort Bidwell, California, and that the American Baptist Home Missionary Society be asked to cover the Indians at or near Fort McDermott, working from Winnemucca as a center.

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making. The country is mountainous but in the valley are some 6,000 acres of fairly level land, and only water is needed to make it available for cultivation. The yenshee habit and gambling are prevalent. The Methodists have had missionary work here since 1909, though there is no organized church. An up-to-date community program of a social and recreational nature might furnish a substitute for gambling and other pernicious habits. A visiting nurse and a small hospital would be welcome additions, as there is no Government field matron here and no hospital.

FALLON:

In Churchill County. Area 5,430 acres, of which 3,830 have been allotted. Population 405.

Dairying is the chief source of income, while alfalfa, wheat and potatoes are also raised. Ranch work employs 250 men. Some of the women are in domestic service, and a few do bead work. Social and moral conditions show marked improvement in the last ten years. Future plans of the Baptist mission include educational classes for adult Indians and more attention to the young people.

MOAPA RIVER:

In Clark County. Area 1,128 acres, of which 600 are allotted. Population 123 (Paiutes).

The Indians on this reservation are an industrious and self-supporting people. Alfalfa is the principal product of the land under cultivation, and some of the men are engaged in wood-cutting, while the women are experts in basket-making. The total income of these Indians in 1920 was \$25,784. At one time the Presbyterians carried on an itinerant missionary work. More recently the Episcopalians have entered the field, working from Las Vegas as a center, and are now launching a permanent work, involving a building program and nurse's work.

V: Idaho

FORT HALL:

In Bingham and Bannock counties. Area 458,000 acres. Population 1,765.

This reservation was set aside by executive order of President Grant in 1869 for the Bannocks, Shoshonis and other Indians
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of southern Idaho. In 1880 part was set aside for the Lemhis, who later were removed to the Fort Hall reservation. In 1898 the lands were allotted in severalty—160 acres of farming and grazing land to the head of each family and eighty acres each to others who were not heads of families. The tribes received \$600,000 from the surplus. At the present time 1,836 allotments of land are recorded. The interests of the Indians are centered on farming and grazing and they own 5,000 head of cattle and stock. The Government agent gives help and encouragement, and general conditions among these Indians are much more favorable than in the past.

The Episcopal Church is the only organized body active in the religious welfare of these tribes. Several years ago the Indian Hope Society of Connecticut established a work here, the holdings of which were transferred to the church in Idaho. The Episcopal mission of The Good Shepherd comprises a fine memorial chapel and a substantial building of brick with modern improvements situated on 160 acres of land partly irrigated. At present the work is in charge of two clergymen who give part of their time, but plans are under way for a more permanent work. In connection with the mission is a well conducted school with an enrollment of from twenty to twenty-five girls. Attention should also be given to the religious education of pupils in the Government boarding school.

CŒUR D'ALENE:

In Benewah County. Area 104,077 acres, all allotted. Population 602 Cœur d'Alenes and 8 Colvilles.

These people have fairly good homes and there is no poverty among them, although many have sold the land for which they received patents in fee and have squandered the money. Two hundred and thirty-eight lease their farms. Domestic conditions among the Cœur d'Alenes are less satisfactory than among other Indians of Idaho. The outstanding tribal vice is gambling, and prostitution exists among some of the younger women.

The only religious work on this reservation is carried on by the Roman Catholics, who have a church at Desmet and a boarding school with forty-six pupils and also conduct a hospital.

KOOTENAI:

The population of seventy-eight Kootenai Indians is scattered about on farms bought for them by the Government a number of

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years ago. Their homes are strung along the Kootenai River for twenty-five miles, in fact from Bonners Ferry. At an old Indian village at the far end is a Government day school, and here the Roman Catholic mission is situated. The church is served by a priest who comes from Canada five or six times a year.

KALISPEL :

Along the Pend d'Oreille River in Washington. Area 5,400 acres. Population 82 of Cœur d'Alene stock.

These Indians, whose population has decreased from 157 in 1910, are among the poorest in the Northwest. In cleanliness and morality, however, they rank well. The Roman Catholics have been in touch with them for many years, although at the present time there is no resident priest, and services are held intermittently. There are two Protestant churches across the Pend d'Oreille River at Cusick and Usk, quite near the reservation, from which extension work might be carried on for the benefit of these Indians.

FORT LAPWAI :

In parts of Nez Perce, Idaho, Clearwater and Lewis counties. Area 212,390 acres, all allotted. Population 1,450 Nez Percés, of whom 1,108 are citizens.

Although much of this reservation is hilly, the land when cleared is extremely fertile and lends itself to general diversified farming. Financially the Indians are fairly well off. An account of the church work on this reservation is given in Chapter XIII, § V.

VI: *Non-Reservation Indians of California*

(Data compiled by M. K. Sniffen, Secretary, Indian Rights Association, with the coöperation of officials of the Indian Bureau.)

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COUNTY	POPULATION	TRIBE
ALAMEDA	35	Meewuk
ALPINE	150	Washoe
AMADOR	160	North Meewuk
BUTTE	340	Maidu
CALAVERAS	120	Meewuk
COLUSA	197	South Wintoon, Pomo
DEL NORTE	436	Tollewa, Yuroc
EL DORADO	361	South Maidu
FRESNO	838	Mono, Yokuts
GLENN	67	Wintoon
HUMBOLDT	818	Yuroc, Weeyot, Blair River, Mattole, Wintoon, Karoc
INYO	1,300	Paiute, Shoshoni, Panamint
KERN	305	Shoshoni, Tehachipi, Yokut
KINGS	100	Yokut
LAKE	627	Pomo, Meewuk
LASSEN	627	Pitt River, Paiute, Dixey Valley, Maidu, Washoe
MADERO	801	Yokut, Meewuk, Mono
MARIN	35	Meewuk
MARIPOSA	200	Meewuk
MENDOCINO	878	Ki-Poma, Pomo
MODOC	675	Pitt River, Paiute
MONO	460	Washoe, Paiute
MONTEREY	123	Mission
NEVADA	66	Maidu
PLACER	103	Maidu
PLUMAS	660	Maidu
SAN BENITO	40	Mission
SAN BERNARDINO ...	640	Chemehuevi
SAN LUIS OBISPO ...	30	Mission
SHASTA	1,040	Pitt River, Apwaraki, Yana, Wintoon
SIERRA	75	Washoe
SISKIYOU	936	Karoc, Shasta, Wintoon, Klamath, Pitt River
SONOMA	422	Pomo
STANISLAUS	25	Digger
TEHAMA	120	Wintoon, Maidu
TRINITY	267	Wintoon
TULARE	100	Mono, Yokut
TUOLUMNE	221	Meewuk
YOLO	42	Patwin
YUBA	55	
Total 40 counties..	14,497	35 Tribes

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VII: Oregon

WARM SPRINGS:

In Wasco County. Area 462,204 acres, of which 140,292 are allotted. Population 822, distributed among four tribes.

The scenery of this reservation is wonderful, but there is little good farming land. There are, however, 25,000,000 board feet of standing timber, and the Indians own 924 head of cattle and 1,155 horses. The Indians eke out an existence from their stock and their small farms. Health conditions are good; morals excellent, mainly a result of the fine work of the United Presbyterian Church. There are an Indian Shaker church and the "Feather Church" (pagan). The United Presbyterians have two main stations and one out-station. There would seem to be room also for a church organization at Simnasho.

KLAMATH:

In southeastern Oregon, at north end of Upper Klamath Lake. Area 1,020,989 acres, of which 208,439 are allotted. Population 1,154, of which 136 are citizens, distributed among five tribes.

As a result of the large amount of timber (6 to 8 billion feet) on this reservation, the Indians have property interests estimated at nearly \$21,000,000. At present stock-farming is their chief source of income, their possessions being 8,606 head of cattle, 1,800 horses, 200 sheep, and 250 hogs. An extensive irrigation project is under way for which an appropriation was made in 1914. Moral conditions are susceptible of great improvement. Gambling is prevalent and bootlegging goes on. The Klamath Shaker church is one of the strongest on the Coast. The short pastorates of the Methodists, who have had charge of this field for sixty years, now maintaining two stations, have been a handicap to progress in constructive work. There is room for a trained medical worker or a field matron at each station, and opportunity for a well-organized community program to interest the thousand Protestant Indians in this field.

SILETZ:

In Lincoln County, on the coast. Area 44,459 acres, all allotted. Population 431, distributed among 14 remnants of Siletz Federated Tribes. White population 550.

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This is neither a stock-raising nor a good farming country. There is a little dairying, and the Indians engage in fishing, gathering wild berries, hop-picking, and fruit-gathering away from the reservation. Moral conditions are good. The Indians are self-supporting, coöperate with the whites and have their respect. A Roman Catholic mission for Indians and whites at Siletz is ministered to by a priest who comes once a month. Indian adherents number forty.

UMATILLA:

In northeastern part of Oregon. Area 156,744 acres, of which 82,644 are allotted. Population 1,124.

The excellence of wheat land on this reservation has been mentioned. In addition to farming, or renting their farms, the Indians raise stock, possessing 650 head of cattle, 2,630 horses, and 1,000 head of poultry. Wealth is the problem here, combined with the proximity of Pendleton, into which the Indians ride in automobiles, drifting into lodging houses, cheap joints and pool-rooms. There are Presbyterian and Roman Catholic missions on the reservation. The Presbyterian pastor has been twenty-one years on the field and has done a noble work. The church organizations include four temperance societies, two Christian Endeavors, and one Women's society. A community work full of promise has recently been launched, and a camp meeting is held every year at which the preaching is done by Nez Perce missionaries from Idaho. There is opportunity for extension work among some 200 Wallawalla and Cayuse Indians in the eastern part of the reservation for whom nothing is at present done by either Presbyterians or Roman Catholics. The situation in and around Pendleton would seem to offer a fruitful field for a Y. M. C. A., or a Y. W. C. A. program.

GRANDE RONDE:

Between Yamhill and Polk counties. Area 32,983 acres, all unallotted. Population 335, distributed among remnants of four tribes; white population 175.

The Roman Catholics have a mission on this field, and there is no Protestant work. There would seem to be an opportunity for the establishment of a joint white and Indian church. The Indian children attend the public schools and consequently social contacts between whites and Indians are already established.

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ROSEBURG DISTRICT :

Southwestern part of Oregon. A scattered population of 389 Indians having allotments on the public domain. Under Siletz Agency.

These Indians are mostly squatters, working casually and eking out an existence. There is no specifically Indian mission. The children attend the public schools, and parents and children go to white churches, if anywhere.

VIII: *Washington*

COLVILLE :

In Okanogan and Ferry counties. Area 1,342,375 acres. Population 2,518, including Salish, Columbia, San Pil, Nespelem, Okanogan, Wenatchi, Lake and Nez Perces.

This is the largest reservation in the State, has the roughest topography and is inaccessible by rail. There are immense timber tracts, some of which are being logged. The soil is fertile and particularly adapted to fruit raising. At the time of this survey, fully 1,500 Indians were unreached by either Roman Catholic or Protestant missions. Since then the Methodists have entered the field with one station, centering at Nespelem, and six Sunday schools organized in other parts of the reservation.

YAKIMA :

In Yakima and Klickitat counties. Area 864,326. Population 2,933.

This is one of the richest reservations in point of natural resources, and because of its fertility much of the land is being used by whites. Frequent petitions to Congress finally resulted, in 1906, in surplus lands being opened up for settlement, which has brought hardships to many Indians. About 42,000 acres are under irrigation. The Methodist mission, organized in 1858, did faithful work for many years. Recently Protestant effort has been rather at a standstill. Around Toppenish there are 800 Indians, and in the vicinity of Wapetoh 500 who are without religious oversight. There is an opportunity for the Methodist

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Church to extend its work to cover the entire reservation, and the field is open for a modern rural church program.

SPOKANE:

In Stevens County. Area 148,635 acres. Population 639.

It was at Walker's Prairie, now on this small reservation, that Walker and Eells, who came out with Whitman, began their missionary work. The Presbyterians, with two mission stations, have the situation here well in hand.

QUILEUTE:

In Clallam County. Area 837 acres. Population 209.

This is the most compact reservation in the United States. There are no white persons on it, nor is there a wagon or automobile road. There are also, unfortunately, no missionary agencies, either Protestant or Roman Catholic. A mission station is needed.

NEAH BAY:

In extreme northwest corner of State, near Juan de Fuca, reached by boat only. Area 23,640 acres. Population 428.

The mission here, under the Women's Board of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., has been established nineteen years and has been under a woman missionary for seventeen years. There is a fine opportunity for medical work, as there is no Government or other physician in the vicinity. A community program, under a trained worker, to reach the young people, would also be effective.

CHEHALIS:

In Thurston County. Area 3,799 acres. Population 120, of Salishan tribe.

Most of these Indians have homesteaded. The Presbyterians had some work here in the past. At present the Methodist Episcopal minister at Oakville makes missionary visits. The Shaker Indian church has enjoyed a temporary growth. The Government maintains a splendid day school.

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QUENIULT:

In Grays Harbor. Area 233,543 acres. Population 265.

This is one of the most isolated reservations in the Northwest. The Presbyterians have a missionary at Taholah, who also endeavors to reach the Queets River Indians, sixteen miles distant.

SQUAXON ISLAND:

In Mason County. Area 1,494 acres. Population 66.

There are no religious services of any kind and there is no day school for the fifteen children. The Indians are in destitute circumstances.

SKOKOMISH:

In Mason County. Area 7,803 acres. Population 250.

Formerly a Congregational minister used to visit this field, but now there is no religious oversight, and it is a Shaker community. It is suggested that the M. E. Church at Shelton, eleven miles distant, should look after the needs of these Indians.

MUCKELSHOOT:

In Kine County. Area 3,491 acres. Population 186.

The Roman Catholics have had work here for more than thirty years. The Shakers have forty or fifty members and a church building.

CLALLAM:

Includes Jamestown and Port Gamble. Population 579.

At Port Gamble the Methodist missionary for Everson has organized a Sunday school. Apart from the Shakers, who have had some work here, there is no other Christian agency.

LUMMI, NOOKSAK AND NON-RESERVATION GROUPS:

The Indian mission of the M. E. Church, with headquarters at Everson, has work on this field, and also the Roman Catholic Church.

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SCHOOLS

I: *Non-Reservation Schools*

NAME	DATE OF OPENING	NUMBER OF TRIBES REPRESENTED	CAPACITY	GRADES	LOCATION
Albuquerque	1881	7	474	4-10	Albuquerque, N. M.
Bismarck	1905	5	80	1-6	Bismarck, N. D.
Carson	1890	5	375	1-8	Stewart, Nev.
Chilocco	1884	37	550	1-10	Chilocco, Okla.
Flandreau	1893	8	360	4-10	Flandreau, S. D.
Fort Mohave ...	1906	6	200	1-6	Mohave City, Ariz.
Fort Totten	1890	4	323	1-8	Fort Totten, N. D.
Genoa	1884	15	400	1-10	Genoa, Neb.
Greenville ¹	1880	15	90	1-6	Greenville, Cal.
Haskell Institute .	1884	66	800	4-12	Lawrence, Kan.
Hope ²	1895	3	60	1-6	Springfield, S. D.
Mt. Pleasant	1892	2	350	1-8	Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
Phoenix	1891	32	700	1-10	Phoenix, Ariz.
Pierre	1891	5	250	1-8	Pierre, S. D.
Pipestone	1895	8	212	1-6	Pipestone, Minn.
Rapid City	1897	6	300	1-8	Rapid City, S. D.
Salem	1879	85	650	1-10	Chemawa, Ore.
Santa Fé	1891	7	400	1-8	Santa Fé, N. M.
Sherman Institute	1902	45	800	1-10	Riverside, Cal.
Tomah	1893	8	275	1-8	Tomah, Wis.
Wahpeton	1907	5	200	1-8	Wahpeton, N. D.

¹ Main building burned winter 1922 and school now closed.

² Established as Episcopal Mission School in 'seventies. Only girls admitted.

Note: Ft. Bidwell (Cal.), Hayward (Wis.), and Concho (Okla.) are sometimes classed as non-reservation schools but are briefly summarized with the reservations near which they are located.

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TEACHING STAFF: Academic, industrial and clerical employees total 449, the majority being women. All are under Civil Service appointment. Occasionally the efficiency of a school is improved by the transfer of a teacher from one school to another. During 1920 there were 38 transfers. Eleven reported such transfers detrimental.

STUDENTS: Attendance in all schools increased last two years. Total enrollment 6,677; boys and girls equally divided. These pupils come from 21 states. One-half come from within a radius of 100 miles of their respective institutions. Range of ages is from 6 to 21 years.

GROUPING BY GRADES: Primary grades include 1-3; pre-vocational 4-6; vocational 7-8 or 8-10. One school only (Haskell) has a commercial course and also a normal course through the 12th grade. Majority of students are in pre-vocational grades. All students must take some industrial work. Trade courses for boys include: carpentry, drafting, blacksmithing, engineering, masonry, painting, agriculture, etc.; for the girls: home economics (cooking, sewing, child study), nursing, etc.

SUPERVISED STUDY: Majority have evening study hour four times a week under class-room instructors.

WORK AND SCHOOL DIVISION: All schools follow the half-day school and work plan, whereby half a day is given to industrial work and half to academic. This is generally regarded as the only practicable plan unless larger appropriations are granted.

LENGTH OF SCHOOL YEAR: Four terms of 10 weeks each. Caring for crops and maintaining plant keeps an average of 97 pupils per school engaged during summer months.

SOCIETIES: The secret societies which thrive in boarding schools to-day are not found in Government schools. All but one have literary societies; 20 have 1; 13 have 2; 7 have 3; 7 have 4.

SOCIAL LIFE: Seven report a separate building used as a social center (where socials may be held, reading room, etc.); 11 have weekly socials; 6 once a month; 3 bi-monthly. In 10 schools there are group games while 17 also permit dancing.

DORMITORIES: Single unit buildings accommodating large number of pupils, with disciplinarian or matron in charge of each. Ten have sleeping porches. Ten report some form of self-government in use.

ATHLETICS: Fifteen have gymnasiums; 18 have inter-school athletic contests. In majority of schools teachers act as coaches. All have some playground equipment.

DISCIPLINE: All under semi-military discipline with one or two disciplinarians in charge.

STUDENT HABITS: Use of tobacco and peyote not permitted on the school grounds.

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HEALTH: All have hospitals or infirmaries, with an average of 40 beds for each; 18 have nurses and 16 have physicians, a majority under contract arrangement.

EXPENSE: The support of these schools comes from congressional appropriations. In 5 schools there are 75 tuition pupils (less than one-half Indian blood or financially able to pay \$200 annually). Opportunity for pupils to earn spending money during vacation through outing system in effect in 12 schools.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF STUDENTS:

	MEMBERS	PREFERENCE
Baptist (all bodies)	134	660
Congregational	36	43
Disciples of Christ	5	13
Friends	5	14
Lutheran	6	14
Methodist (all bodies)	287	448
Presbyterian (all bodies)	324	1,047
Protestant Episcopal	433	326
Reformed (all bodies)	41	80
Mennonites	11	11
Russian Orthodox	—	100
Total Protestant	1,282	2,756
Grand total		4,038
Roman Catholic	1,755	
Mormon	26	
Unattached	858	

SUNDAY PROGRAM: Eighteen schools report a service of worship once a week. In 11 it is a part of the general assembly. In 11 schools ministers or missionaries conduct religious services—either regularly or occasionally. Fifteen have Sunday schools, in eleven of which there are organized classes. The International lessons are used. Two report normal classes for teachers.

ATTENDANCE AT TOWN CHURCHES: In 8 schools there is opportunity to attend weekly; 2 bi-monthly; 7 no opportunity; 2 occasionally.

WEEK-DAY RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION: Ten report some plan of instruction, 6 making use of the two hours (permitted on week-days according to Rules and Regulations for Religious Instruc-

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tion in Indian Schools adopted 1912) with 4 having from an hour to an hour and a half.

CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS: Fourteen have Y. M. C. A.'s and 21 Y. W. C. A.'s with a combined membership of 2,025. There are 3 Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. secretaries, either on part or full time. Other societies are Sacred Heart, Girl Reserves, Boy Scouts, Christian Endeavor and Baptist Young People's Union. In three schools there are Protestant Church organizations (Sherman, Chemawa and Chilocco).

ALUMNI: Records of graduates were obtainable from seven schools only. These show: ministers 10, teachers 31, other professions 60, other occupations 247.

EQUIPMENT AND LAND: Number buildings 603, an average of 28 per school; 17 report farms—1 of 8,000 acres (Chilocco); 2 of 1,000 acres; 10 below 500 acres and 4 below 100 acres. The general state of equipment is reported good by 14, fair by 2, poor by 3.

II: Tribal Schools of Oklahoma

NAME	TRIBE	TYPE	CAPACITY	GRADES	LOCATION
Cherokee Orphan Training School ...	Cherokee and occasional Choctaw or Ottawa	Coeducational	160	1-6	5 miles from Tahlequah 3 miles from Park Hill
Euchee Boarding School ³	Creeks and Euchee	Coeducational	125	1-6	Sapulpa
Eufaula School ³	Creek	Girls	112	1-8	Eufaula
Nuyaka Boarding School ³	Creek and occasional Seminole	Boys	115	1-6	12 miles from Beggs
Bloomfield Seminary.	Chickasaw	Girls	120	1-8	2 miles from Ardmore
Tuskahoma Academy.	Choctaw ⁴	Girls	100	1-8	4 miles from Tuskahoma
Wheelock Academy..	Choctaw	Girls	100	1-8	1½ m. from Millerton
Jones Academy	Choctaw	Boys	100	1-8	4 miles from Hartshorne
Mekuskey Academy.	Seminole	Coeducational	110	1-6	5 miles from Seminole

³ For reasons of economy the three Creek schools were consolidated into two in the fall of 1922. Nuyaka was closed, the Euchee school was made a boys' school, and the Euchee girls were sent to Eufaula and elsewhere.

⁴ Armstrong, a Choctaw school, has recently been discontinued because of the policy which has brought nearly 19,000 of the 25,000 children of school age of these tribes into public schools of the State.

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TEACHING STAFF: Numbers 116, with an average of 14 or 15 in each school; 39 men, 77 women. Of the 61 teachers in the academic work, 35 have had a partial college or normal course in preparation for teaching.

STUDENTS: The attendance in all the schools but one (Nuyaka) increased in the last two years. The schools are now filled and the three coeducational schools report the necessity of refusing admission to applicants because of lack of room. Range of ages is from 6 to 21 years. Four schools carry the first 8 grades, while 4 have the first 6 only. Majority of students are in the primary grades (1-3), one-third in the pre-vocational (4-6), and about one-tenth in the vocational (7-8). Of the 942 pupils reported in tribal schools 635 come from within a radius of 50 miles, 248 between 50 and 100 miles, and 59 more than 100 miles to school.

SOCIETIES: Four schools have 7 literary societies.

SOCIAL LIFE: Socials are generally held once a month where parlor games are played. In 4 schools dancing is permitted. In 3 there is no dancing, while in another the parents have expressed their attitude of disapproval. A number of the schools have playground equipment.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES: Athletics are limited to out-door games and contests as no school has a gymnasium. The teachers act as coaches. All schools are under semi-military discipline, the pupils being considered too young for any form of self-government.

HEALTH: While there are no special hospital buildings the services of a physician are retained for each school. Each student has a health examination.

EXPENSE: The support of the tribal schools is from tribal funds (except the Cherokee School). The only tuition paid is \$30 each on the part of 25 girls for music.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF PUPILS: The following preferences are given: Baptist, 344; Methodist, 167; Presbyterian, 70; Disciples of Christ, 6; Holiness, 1; Christian Science, 1. Total Protestants, 602; Roman Catholic, 1; unattached, 117.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: Sunday evenings a general assembly or service of worship is held in practically all schools. Teachers or visiting clergymen give talks. All schools have Sunday schools. Week-day religious instruction is wanting except in one school (Eufaula), there being no systematized program or effort. A Baptist itinerant minister visits the schools once a month for the benefit of those affiliated with that church. Five schools have Y. W. C. A.'s. Two Y. M. C. A.'s are reported. Four schools would be interested in a simple, practical, unified program of religious education under a trained director.

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III: *Choctaw-Chickasaw Hospital at Talihina, Oklahoma*

The Choctaw tribal funds furnished \$50,000 toward starting this hospital in 1916, which was originally founded to furnish a home for sick Indians of Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes. Patients from other tribes enter when there is room.

STAFF: 13, including one doctor and two nurses.

PATIENTS: Total capacity of beds 60; average number of patients 36—majority girls and women.

INSTRUCTION: Health is primary, school is secondary. Average attendance 25; courses of instruction, grades 1-6.

LAND AND BUILDINGS: 2,400 acres, of which 45 acres are used for farm. Seven buildings in fair state of repair.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS: Evenings given to social games and story-telling. Sunday school weekly. Once a month church service conducted by itinerant Baptist minister.

IV: *Institution for Mentally Deranged at Canton, South Dakota*

The Canton Asylum is the only institution of its kind in the country for the benefit of Indians. It was erected in 1902. Capacity is 92 beds which are practically always filled. Among the tribes the Sioux predominate. Some farming and gardening is done by patients, and a good deal of work within the institution. The difficulty is to secure right kind of help, as the salaries for assistants range from \$55 to \$65 per month. Epilepsy seems to be the prevalent malady. The only religious exercise is a song service Sunday afternoon conducted by the superintendent. On rare occasions a minister is invited to speak. A small percentage of recovery is reported owing to the fact that most of the cases are chronic; death rate is 10 per cent. annually.

V: *Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute*

In 1878 a band of Kiowas and Comanches, who for several years had been prisoners of war at St. Augustine, Florida, were released, and seventeen of them were brought by Lieut. R. H.

⁵ Later General. See page 40.

APPENDIX II

Pratt to Hampton Institute, a school for the training of Negro youth. The idea of giving Indians an industrial education at Hampton was an experiment, but the results were so gratifying as to justify its continuation. From 1878 until 1912 Hampton received an annual appropriation from the Government for the maintenance of its Indian work. Since the withdrawal of this grant the enrollment has declined. During the last school year (1921-22) it was twenty-nine. The institution continues, however, to welcome deserving Indian boys and girls who have had the equivalent of an eighth grade education. Hampton's Indian graduates and former students are 843 in number, of whom 521 are men, 322 women. The strongest endorsement of the kind of training given is the influence exerted by these graduates throughout the reservations.

VI: *American Indian Institute, Wichita, Kansas*

Opened in 1915, the object of this institution is to provide a native Christian leadership for the Indian tribes of the United States. It is undenominational, its Board of Trustees being made up of representative men from various parts of the United States. A sixth grade certificate is required for entrance and the academic course includes the highschool grades. Bible study is part of the curriculum. Special emphasis is placed on self-help, every boy (only boys are admitted at present) being required to work two hours a day. Tuition is charged, the work hour system enabling a poor boy to work his way through. Farm lands and buildings are valued at \$60,000 and the school has an endowment of \$30,000. The enrollment is 20. The institution has been endorsed by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Of special interest is the fact that the principal, Rev. Henry Roe Cloud, is a Winnebago Indian, the adopted son of Dr. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe, through whose influence the school came into being.

APPENDIX III

MISSION STATISTICS

I: Protestant Missions

CHART SHOWING GENERAL CHURCH STATISTICS

Denomination or Society	No. Tribes Served	No. Churches ²	ORDAINED MINISTERS			MATERIAL EQUIPMENT		
			White	Native	Helpers, Native	Value of Church Buildings	Value of Parsonages	Value of Other Buildings
ADVENTISTS (Seventh Day)	1	1	1	...	4	.....	.....	\$12,000
BAPTIST (Northern Convention)	20	32	18	5	34	\$56,850	\$22,800	11,350
BAPTIST (Southern Convention)	14	114	8	86	103	83,250	19,350	18,555
CONGREGATIONAL	5	17	4	11	17	34,300	12,500	11,100
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST ⁵	1	...	...	...	...	.....	.....	10,000
FRIENDS ²	9	8	6	...	3	3,600	4,200	4,000
GOSPEL UNION ²	1	1	1	2	...	1,500	.....	.....
LUTHERAN	4	8	8	...	14	15,000	5,000	500
MENNONITES (Two bodies)	4	12	11	...	49	12,800	27,900	9,750
METHODIST EPISCOPAL (North)	25	43	26	15	14	68,000	37,300	7,620
WESLEYAN METHODIST	1	1	1	...	2	2,000	1,500	.....
METHODIST EPISCOPAL (South) ⁶	8	78	2	36	66	47,800	6,200	49,840
MORAVIAN ²	3	3	3	...	3	3,200	2,700	1,400
PLYMOUTH BRETHREN ²	2	2	2	...	2	.....	.....	.....
PRESBYTERIAN, U. S. A.	43	125	37	75	143	188,400	67,535	56,025
PRESBYTERIAN, U. S. . .	4	20	2	11	21	8,350	8,030	5,500
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN ²	2	4	3	...	3	9,000	4,500	.....
REFORMED PRESBYTE- RIAN	2	1	1	...	2	5,000	5,000	5,000
CUMBERLAND PRESBY- TERIAN ⁶	2	15	...	13	10	7,700	1,100	1,750
PROTESTANT EPISCO- PAL	13	93	14	36	43	152,870	59,575	153,400
REFORMED IN AMERICA	7	7	5	...	8	20,500	14,500	12,200
CHRISTIAN REFORMED ²	2	5	5	...	5	10,000	13,000	6,000
REFORMED IN UNITED STATES ²	1	2	1	...	1	200	1,500	12,000
NATIONAL INDIAN AS- SOCIATION ²	1	1	1	...	1	1,000	1,000	.....
AMERICAN TRACT SO- CIETY ⁸ .....	...	...	...	...	...	.....	.....	.....
INDEPENDENT .....	...	...	...	...	...	.....	.....	.....
TOTALS	175	597	160	268	550	729,820	309,990	387,990

¹ Statistics given herewith are based on reports from the field, but in two or three instances confirmation has been received from denominational headquarters.

² Unorganized churches, where services are held with fair degree of regularity, included.

³ Taken from the figures furnished to the Home Missions Council, 1922. Educational missions included.

APPENDIX III

PROTESTANT INDIAN MISSIONS¹ BY DENOMINATIONS

FINANCES ³	MEMBER-SHIP ⁴	SUNDAY SCHOOLS		YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETIES		WOMEN'S SOCIETIES		MISSION SCHOOLS	
<i>Annual Appropriations</i>	<i>Total on Roll</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>
No Report	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
\$48,856.63	2,810	23	1,597	9	246	14	311	3	320
12,294.38	4,176	80	2,175	42	713	64	686	...	...
38,021.50	1,178	3	346	5	118	21	444	2	225
23,166.66	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6,250.00	107	5	299	1	9	1	12	1	56
No Report	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4,137.50 [†]	473	3	540	2	24	1	8	6	360
23,021.00	485	6	979	...	...	...	...	...	...
65,017.00	1,986	35	1,519	6	151	6	111	2	75
575.00	65	1	44	1	35	...	...	...	...
50,000.00	2,388	45	1,278	16	201	26	363	1	50
3,227.43	174	1	38	...	...	1	11	...	...
No Report	13	1	77	...	...	...	...	...	...
209,532.00	6,594	73	4,235	29	722	36	807	7	401
5,009.00	636	13	508	1	11	10	114	2	137
4,000.00	137	3	121	2	46	1	40	...	...
6,400.00	94	1	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
No Report	189	10	149	5	51	7	62	...	...
112,695.00	9,526	18	814	9	279	59	1,411	7	270
57,526.42	883	5	581	5	79	4	39	2	122
65,433.00	193	4	424	3	43	...	...	2	136
7,740.00	57	1	67	...	...	...	...	2	90
No Report	...	1	27	1	12	...	...	...	...
1,800.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	20
744,702.52	32,164	332	15,868	137	2,740	251	4,419	38	2,262

⁴ Includes communicants but not adherents. The latter figure varies according as one or more denominations are at work in a given field. Usually where there is no Roman Catholic work the entire Indian population is considered the Protestant constituency. The estimated number of Protestant adherents is 80,000.

⁵ No station. Community work only. See under Washington Indians, Ch. XIV. § III.

⁶ Partial report only. See also statistics for Five Tribes, given below.

⁷ Partial report only.

⁸ Distribution of literature only.

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II: *Roman Catholic Missions*

The mission work of the Catholic Church among the Indians in the United States, which within the past decade shows decided gains, is of considerable magnitude, as will be seen by the following table:

Missions	149
Churches and chapels	336
Priests	196
Brothers	63
Sisters	446
Catholic boarding schools	55
Catholic day schools	20
Catholic hospitals	3
Government Indian boarding schools regularly attended by priests	37
Government Indian hospitals regularly attended by priests	5
Number of Catholic Indians	61,456

In the Catholic mission boarding schools approximately 5,000 Indian children are supported and taught, while in the schools of the Government, where the faith of Catholic pupils necessarily is exposed to many dangers, there are more than 6,000 Catholic Indian children, and many of these have no opportunity to learn or practice their religion.⁹

III: *Protestant Work Among the Five Civilized Tribes*

(a) SOUTHERN BAPTIST

ASSOCIATION	CHURCHES	ACTIVE	INACTIVE	MINISTERS
		MEMBER-SHIP	MEMBER-SHIP	
Cherokee	26	1,750	400	41
Chickasaw	12	189	160	10
Choctaw	27	341	300	32
Muskogee and Wichita (Creek and Seminole)	20	470	350	35
Non-affiliating (Independent)	17	170	170	16
Totals	102	2,920	1,380	134

⁹ This information is quoted from *The Sentinel*.

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NUMBER OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETIES BY TRIBES

	S. S.	B. Y. P. U.
Cherokee	26	16
Choctaw	20	12
Chickasaw	12	12
Muskogee (Creek)	16	14
Seminole	2	0
	—	—
Totals	76	54

(b) UNITED DANISH EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

Has mission among Cherokees, near Oaks, Oklahoma. Established 1892. Value buildings \$3,000. Membership 200. Sunday school enrollment 70; also Ladies' Aid.

(c) METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH

Among the Five Civilized Tribes there are twenty-five pastoral charges under two district superintendents, Rev. Johnson Tiger, a full-blooded Creek, and Rev. L. W. Cobb, a full-blooded Choctaw. Rev. J. J. Methvin, third district superintendent, is in charge of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache district. Altogether there are about one hundred organized churches with a total church membership of 2,800. The Indian preachers pursue a regularly prescribed course of study and attend the specially arranged Bible Institutes.

(d) PRESBYTERIAN, U. S.

Ministers	11
Churches	20
Licentiates	2
Candidates	10
Elders	50
Deacons	18
Added on examination	96
Added on certificate	13
Resident Communicants	444
Non-resident Communicants	92
Total Communicants	536
Baptisms, adult	77
Baptisms, infant	30
Sabbath School enrollment.....	962 ¹⁰

¹⁰ According to denominational report.

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(e) PRESBYTERIAN, U. S. A.

		CHOCTAWS AND CHEROKEES		SEMINOLES AND CREEKS
Number	Churches	4	27	5
"	Members ¹¹	250	450	150
"	Native Pastors .	1	12	3
"	White Pastors ..	1	0	0
"	Sunday Schools	3	15	4
"	Church Buildings	2	25	4

(f) CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN

Number	Tribes served ..	2 (Choctaws and Chickasaws)
"	Churches	29
"	Native Pastors .	21
"	White Pastors ..	0
"	Members ¹²	189
"	Sunday Schools..	15
S. S. Enrollment		179

¹¹ Denominational Report.

¹² Reports obtainable from 15 churches only.

APPENDIX IV

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGED IN INDIAN WORK

I: Home Missions Council

The Home Missions Council, which has been in existence since 1908, combines and coördinates the activities of thirty-six different home mission agencies, representing twenty-two denominations. From the beginning it has had a committee on Indian Missions. In January, 1919, this committee was enlarged in scope so as to include representatives of the Council of Women for Home Missions (the sister organization composed of representatives of the Women's Boards and Societies, also organized in 1908), of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and of separate boards or agencies. This is called the Joint Committee on Indian Missions.

II: The Indian Rights Association

This association, organized in 1882, is an incorporated, non-partisan, non-sectarian organization for promoting the civilization of the Indian and for securing his natural and political rights. To this end it aims to collect data, principally through the personal investigation of its officers and agents, regarding the Indian's relations with the Government and with the white race, concerning his progress in industry and education, his present and future needs. During its forty years of history the association has been instrumental in exposing wrongs and in helping to make possible a progressive program of legislation in behalf of the Indian. Its headquarters are in Philadelphia.

III: The National Indian Association

Organized in 1881, by Christian women largely from the eastern states, this association during forty years of its history has done a notable work, not only in securing adequate legal recognition for the Indian but in promoting educational, medical and mis-

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sionary work among fifty-three tribes. The first mission stations were opened among the Poncas and Pawnees in 1884, at a time when no church board was in a position to enter these needy fields. In all, sixty buildings have been erected, including twenty-three cottages, nine churches, six school houses, three homes for aged women and orphans, and three hospitals. The policy of the association is to give its missions, when well established, together with the property attached, to the permanent care of denominational boards asking for them. The only work now maintained by this association is the Rocky Boy Mission in Montana.

IV: *Young Men's Christian Association*

While the first *Koska Okodakiciye* was organized in South Dakota by the Sioux, in 1879, it was not until 1894 that the first Indian Secretary, Charles Eastman, was appointed under the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations for work on the Sioux reservations. As early as 1884 voluntary Christian Associations had sprung up among students in Government schools, notably Carlisle and Haskell. In 1911 a more systematic effort was inaugurated to reach the Indian students by the appointment of a traveling secretary. At the end of the first school year there were seven associations with 155 members. Now there are eighteen associations with 1,100 members. In these voluntary organizations the emphasis is placed on "work for students by students." In addition to Bible study, religious meetings and leadership training, other activities are undertaken, such as deputation work (gospel team and reservation visiting), social and community service, Junior work, conferences and distribution of literature.

V: *Young Women's Christian Association*

Through its many-sided activities the Y. W. C. A. brings to Indian girls a simple interpretation of Christianity which reaches every phase of their life—health, recreation, social relations, religion. It is bringing the touch of friendship to 113 reservations, thus helping to keep alive the ideals of Christian Indian girls in the face of loneliness and hardships. Ten-day Y. W. C. A. conferences have meant work, worship and play in daily contact with white girls, a deepened racial understanding and a growing fellowship with the girls of the world.

The first Y. W. C. A. in Indian schools was organized in 1892, the thirty-eighth in 1922. These self-governing clubs are arous-

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ing innate initiative and self-reliance, leading to the goal of native leadership. They encourage the girls to hold to the best in their own traditions, while reaching out for the highest in white civilization. In many schools they mean the chief opportunity for religious instruction and self-expression, and to hundreds of girls the first opportunity for knowing the Bible and Jesus Christ.

VI: *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among Indians*

This society (sometimes called the John Eliot Fund) has been using the proceeds from a fund to promote education in morals in the larger Government Indian schools since 1911. A traveling secretary has made regular visits to these schools. The headquarters of the organization is in Boston.

APPENDIX V

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE INDIAN

By EDGAR B. MERITT, Assistant Indian Commissioner

Our Federal Constitution provides that Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes. Under Constitutional and Congressional authority and since the foundation of our Government the Indians have been treated as wards of the Government and the United States has acted as the guardian of all restricted Indians.

The Indian Bureau was established March 11, 1824; the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was created in 1832, and in 1849 the Department of the Interior was established by act of Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs transferred to that Department from the War Department, where it has since remained.

Section 441 of the Revised Statutes provides that "The Secretary of the Interior is charged with the supervision of public business relating to * * * * the Indians."

Section 463 of the Revised Statutes provides that "The Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior and agreeable to such regulations as the President may prescribe, have the management of all Indian affairs, and of all matters arising out of Indian relations."

The power of Congress to control and administer the affairs of restricted Indians has been recognized since the inception of our Government. The Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are charged by law with the duty of acting as the guardians of the property of the Indians and as the protectors of their rights. (*West v. Hitchcock*, 205 U. S., 85.)

The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that Congress has the right to determine when the guardianship over Indians shall cease and that Congress has at all times the right to enact legislation in the interests of the Indians as a dependent people. (*Tiger v. Western Improvement Co.*, 221 U. S., 316.)

Non-citizen Indians may hunt and fish on restricted property within their own reservations, notwithstanding State laws, when the game or fish is for their own use (*In re Blackbird*, 109 Fed. Rep., 139), but on ceded and other lands tribal Indians are subject to the laws of the State applicable to hunting and fishing. (*Kennedy v. Becker*, 241 U. S., 556.)

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The first treaty between the United States and an Indian tribe was made with the Delaware Indians on September 17, 1778 (7 Stat. L., 13).

No treaties have been made with Indian tribes since the passage of the act of March 3, 1871 (16 Stat. L., 556), which provides in part "That hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty: Provided further, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to invalidate or impair the obligation of any treaty heretofore lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe." The reason for this legislation is based on the theory that the Federal Government cannot recognize an independent nation or sovereignty existing within the borders of its own territory. Since the passage of this legislation prohibiting treaties with Indian tribes their affairs have been dealt with through Congressional enactments. The Supreme Court has held in substance that a treaty with Indians is of no greater force or effect than an act of Congress. (*Lonewolf v. Hitchcock*, 187 U. S., 566). This, of course, does not affect vested property rights of Indians. There are now on the Statute books about 370 Indian treaties and 2,000 laws relating to Indian affairs.

Allotments are usually made under the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887, as amended. Under this act an Indian receives a trust patent for his allotment with restrictions on alienation for a period of twenty-five years. Under what is known as the Burke Act of May 8, 1906, patents in fee may be issued to Indians where they are competent to handle their own affairs. When the trust period on Indian allotments expires the jurisdiction of the Indian Bureau thereafter ceases, unless by reason of incompetency the trust period is further extended as authorized by the act of June 21, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 326).

Indian lands may be leased for farming and grazing purposes under the act of February 28, 1891 (26 Stat. L., 794), as amended, and the act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L., 855). Allotted Indian lands may be leased for oil and gas mining purposes in accordance with the provisions of the act of March 3, 1909 (35 Stat. L., 781-83), and tribal lands may be leased for oil and gas mining purposes under the act of February 28, 1891 (26 Stat. L., 795). Lands of the Osage Reservation are leased for oil and gas mining purposes under the provisions of the act of June 28, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 539), as amended by the act of March 3, 1921 (41 Stat. L., 1249), and lands of Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes may be leased for oil and gas mining purposes under the act of May 27, 1908 (35 Stat. L., 312). Indian lands

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may also be leased for metalliferous mining purposes in accordance with the provisions of the act of June 30, 1919 (41 Stat. L., 31), as amended by the act of March 3, 1921 (41 Stat. L., 1231).

The acts of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat. L., 1095); February 15, 1901 (31 Stat. L., 790), and March 4, 1911 (36 Stat. L., 1253-54), authorize the granting of rights of way across Indian lands for canals, ditches, reservoir, and power purposes, and the act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., 1083-4) authorizes the granting of rights of way for telegraph and telephone lines and roads across Indian lands.

Indian allotments may be sold under the acts of May 27, 1902 (32 Stat. L., 245-275); March 1, 1907 (34 Stat. L., 1015-18), and June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L., 855). Indian property is not subject to taxation by local authorities as long as the property is held in trust by the Government for the Indians. (*United States v. Rickert*, 188 U. S., 432.)

The act of July 26, 1866 (14 Stat. L., 280) authorizes trading with Indians and the act of August 15, 1876 (19 Stat. L., 200) gives the Commissioner of Indian Affairs sole power to make rules and regulations for trading with the Indians. Traders on Indian reservations are required to give bond and procure licenses from the Indian Bureau in accordance with the laws above cited. Under Section 2149 of the Revised Statutes the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, has authority to remove persons from the Indian country for proper cause. Selling or furnishing intoxicating liquors to Indians is a criminal offense under Sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the act of January 30, 1897 (29 Stat. L., 506).

Section 3744 of the Revised Statutes requires that all contracts relating to Indian matters shall be in writing. Goods and supplies for the Indian Service are purchased in the manner prescribed by Section 3709 of the Revised Statutes.

Indian timber, both individual and tribal, may be sold under the act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L., 857). Section 28 of the act of May 25, 1918 (40 Stat. L., 591), authorizes the distribution of tribal funds to individual members of the tribe, and this same section authorizes deposits of Indian funds in State banks.

Indian police were first authorized in the Indian appropriation act of May 27, 1878 (20 Stat. L., 86). Their principal duty is to maintain order on Indian reservations, and their authority is somewhat limited. Indian judges were first authorized by the act of June 29, 1888 (25 Stat. L., 233). The jurisdiction of the judges of Courts of Indian Offenses is limited to misdemeanor cases committed among Indians on Indian reservations.

Congress has, by the act of August 1, 1914 (38 Stat. L., 583),

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authorized the reimbursement of funds heretofore expended for irrigation work on Indian reservations.

Originally the test of the right of individual Indians to share in tribal lands and other tribal property was existing membership in the tribe; but this rule has been so broadened by Section 15 of the act of March 3, 1875 (18 Stat. L., 420), and Section 6 of the act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., 390), and other acts as to place individual Indians who have abandoned tribal relations, once existing, and have adopted the customs, habits, and manners of civilized life, upon the same footing in respect of this right as though they had maintained their tribal relations. However, children of Indians who have abandoned tribal relations and who are living apart from the tribe are not entitled to be enrolled and to participate in the distribution of tribal lands and other tribal property. (See *Oakes case*; 107 Fed. Rep., 305.)

Congress has authorized the making of tribal rolls for the purpose of segregating tribal funds, by the act of June 30, 1919 (41 Stat. L., 9). The rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes were closed by Section 2 of the act of April 26, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 137).

By the act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L., 855) the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior are authorized to determine the heirs of deceased Indians, and also to approve wills of Indian allottees.

Under the act of June 7, 1897 (30 Stat. L., 79), the Indian Bureau is not now permitted to use gratuity appropriations for the payment of tuition of Indian children in sectarian schools, but under the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Quickbear v. Leupp* (210 U. S., 50), under certain conditions Indian treaty and trust funds may be used to educate Indian children in mission schools.

By a provision contained in the Indian appropriation act of February 14, 1920 (41 Stat. L., 410), the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to make and enforce such rules and regulations as may be necessary to secure the enrollment and regular attendance of eligible Indian children who are wards of the Government in schools maintained for their benefit by the United States, or in public schools.

Indians cannot take their tribal claims against the United States Government to the Court of Claims for adjudication without specific Congressional authority, nor can Indians employ attorneys to prosecute their tribal claims against the Government without the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, in accordance with Sections 2103, 2104, 2105, and 2106 of the Revised Statutes.

Many statutory regulations regarding Indians are applicable only in the "Indian Country" and considerable difficulty has been

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experienced by the courts in defining and applying that term. "Indian Country" applies to all lands to which the Indian title has not been extinguished even when not within a reservation expressly set apart for the exclusive occupancy of Indians. "Indian Country" includes reservations set apart for Indian tribes by treaty, executive order, or act of Congress.

INDIAN CITIZENSHIP

The act of April 9, 1866 (14 Stat. L., 27), now Section 1992 of the Revised Statutes, provides that "All persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are declared to be citizens of the United States." The question of citizenship is as a general rule an individual one to determine which the facts in each particular case must be considered. There are a number of different ways by which Indians have become or may now become citizens. Some of the most important are as follows:

1. *Treaty Provision.* In some of the treaties or agreements with certain tribes of Indians provision was made whereby Indians desiring to become citizens might become such by complying with certain prescribed formalities somewhat similar to those required by aliens.

2. *Allotment Under the Act of February 8, 1887.* In the act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., 388), Congress provided for the allotment of land to the Indians in severalty and in Section 6 thereof declared that Indians so allotted should become citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside.

3. *Issuance of Patent in Fee Simple.* In the act of May 8, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 182), Congress amended the act of February 8, 1887, so as to postpone citizenship of Indians thereafter allotted until after a patent in fee had been issued to said Indians. Provision was also made whereby patent in fee might be issued by the Secretary of the Interior to competent Indians before the expiration of the twenty-five year trust period. Therefore, Indians whose trust patents are dated subsequent to May 8, 1906, and who have also received their patents in fee simple have become citizens under said act.

4. *Adopting Habits of Civilized Life.* Section 6 of the act of February 8, 1887, both before and after its amendment of May 8, 1906, provided "That every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up within said limits his residence, separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens,

APPENDIX V

whether said Indian has been or not, by birth or otherwise, a member of any tribe of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States, without in any manner impairing or otherwise affecting the rights of any such Indian to tribal or other property."

5. *Minor Children.* The Interior Department has held that where Indian parents became citizens upon allotment, their minor children became citizens with them, and that children born subsequent thereto were born to citizenship.

6. *Citizenship by Birth.* (a) An Indian child born in the United States of citizen Indian parents is born to citizenship. (b) Legitimate children born of an Indian woman and a white citizen father are born to citizenship.

7. *Soldiers and Sailors.* Congress in the act of November 6, 1919, provided that Indian soldiers and sailors who served in the recent World War and who have been honorably discharged may be granted citizenship by courts of competent jurisdiction.

8. *Marriage.* The act of August 9, 1888 (25 Stat. L., 392), provided that Indian women who married citizens of the United States thereby became citizens of the United States.

9. *Special Acts of Congress.* Sometimes Congress makes provision for a particular tribe of Indians or a particular group of Indians to become citizens. For instance:

(a) In the act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., 1447), provision was made for the extension of citizenship to the Indians in the "Indian Territory" by amending Section 6 of the act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., 388). It should be observed, however, that in the act of May 8, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 182), amending said Section 6, the language "and every Indian in the Indian Territory" was not included.

(b) In the act of March 3, 1921 (41 Stat. L., 1250), citizenship was extended to all members of the Osage Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma.

The Supreme Court has held in *United States v. Nice* (241 U. S., 598), that "Citizenship is not incompatible with tribal existence or continued guardianship, and so may be conferred without completely emancipating the Indians or placing them beyond the reach of Congressional regulations adopted for their protection." Any Indian in the United States can, by his own act, become a citizen under Section 6 of the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887, as amended, by separating himself from tribal relationship and taking up the habits of civilized life.

APPENDIX VI

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